THE HISTORIE of ENGLAND.

The first Booke.

Declaring the estate of the Ile of Britannie vnder the Roman Empire.

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The Preface.

Haue oft times wished, that (among so many large Volumes, and Abridgements of our English Chronicles, as are nowe extant) wee might haue one continued History collected out of approued Writers, and digested in such maner, as the Reader might neither be tired with the length of fabulous, and extrauagant discourses: nor left vnsatisfied in any materiall pointes, or circumstances worth his knowledge. And although Truth in her nakednesse, and Simplicitie ought for her owne sake to be desired, and preferred aboue all other things: yet we see that the nature of man (affecting, for the most part, rather pleasure than profite) doth more willingly embrace such things as delight the sense, than such as confirme the iudgement: though to satisfie both the one and the other, is accounted in matters of this kind, the Marke, at which the best Writers haue aymed, as being the very tipe of Perfection it selfe. In which respect, I am perswaded, that such a Worke would be the better accepted, if the Writer thereof should obserue that Method which hath beene vsed in former times, by the best Historiographers among the Greekes, and Romans, who, to shew their owne wits, & to refresh their Readers, dew sed set Speaches, and Orations, to enterlace with their true Histories, as

things both allowable and commendable, so farre forth as they were grounded vpon probable coniectures, fitting the Speakers, and voyde of absurditie. Which course hath bin held also in our owne Stories, by some of our Countreymen, in writing vpon particular subiects, which they haue chosen, as most agreeable to their owne humours, and ministring best matter of discourse. Among all which of this kinde, that excellent Story of Richard *the third, written by sir* Thomas Moore *(if my iudgement faile mee not) may worthily challenge the first place.*

To write much in commendation of Histories, were (I suppose) but to spend time, as the Sophister *did in praysing of* Hercules, *whom no man (in his right wittes) euer dispraysed: and the Proems of* Historical *Bookes are already filled with discourses of the profitable vse that may be made of them, considering that Examples (as the most familiar and pleasing kinde of learning) are found, by common experience, to be much more auaileable to the reforming of manners, then bare rules and precepts. If then, the knowledge of Histories in generall be so commodious & commendable a thing, as learned men in all ages haue esteemed it: I make no doubt, but it will be easely confessed, that there is no Historie so fitte for Englishmen, as the very Historie of* England; *in which (if the affection I beare to my natiue Country deceiue me not) there are many things (besides the necessary vse thereof) very well worthy to be remembred, and obserued: howsoeuer our Chronicles haue bin a long time condemned for barbarous, as wanting that purity of language, wherewith the Histories of many other Nations are adorned. And indeede I could wish, that they were so set forth, as our Gentlemen of* England *might take*

vnlesse pleasure in reading the same, then they doe now in reading the English translations of the Romans, French, *&* Italian *Histories, which, though they may be delightfull, and in some kindes profitable: yet is not the knowledge of them altogether so pertinent, and proper to vs, as of the other, except we would desire to seeme Citizens of an other Country, and strangers in our owne.*

And although to some perhappes it may seeme a labour vnnecessary, to beginne with such auncient things as were done heere by the Romans, *specially considering the difference of time it selfe (which in euery age bringeth forth diuerse effects) and the dispositions of men, that for the most part take lesse pleasure therein, then in the relation of the occurrents of their owne, or later times: yet I thinke it fitte for order sake, there to beginne, whence we haue the first certaine direction to procede: and I doubt not but some good vse also may be made, euen of these auncient thinges (howsoeuer they may be accounted impertinent to vs) eyther by imitation, or by way of comparison.*

As for the storie of Brute, *from his first arriuall heere, vntill the comming of the* Romans, *diuerse Writers holde it suspected, reputing it (for good causes) rather a Poeticall Fiction, then a true History, as namely,* Iohannes de Whethamsted Abbot *of Saint* Albans, *a man of great iudgement (who liued about the yeere of Christ 1440.) &* Gulielmus Nubrigensis, *with others, as well moderne as auncient, who haue in like maner deliuered their censures thereof. Besides,* Venerable Bede *makes no mention of it at all, but begins his History with the* Romans *entrance into the Iland. Howbeit, seeing it hath beene for so long time generally receiued, I will not presume, (knowing the*

power

power of prescription in matters of lesse continuance) absolutely to contradict it: though for mine owne opinion I suppose it to be a matter of more antiquitie, then veritie. I write not this to detract from those, that haue heeretofore written thereof, in their Bookes of our English Chronicles (continued to these times,) as namely Stowe, Hollinshed, Grafton, and others, that haue employed themselues, and their trauaile in searching out Antiquities, and memorable things touching the affaires of this Realme. That which they haue done already, deserueth thankes, and good acceptance, in that of a good meaning they haue done their endeuours. But, as in the building of an house, diuerse workemen are to be vsed for diuerse purposes: namely, some to prouide timber, and rough-hew it, others to carue and polish it: so I thinke it meete that some man of knowledge and iudgement requisite for the accomplishing of such a worke, should aduisedly peruse our English Chronicles, (the substance and matter (though layde vppe in diuerse publicke & priuate Storehouses) being already prouided,) and thereof to frame an Historie, in such manner, as the Reader might reape both pleasure and profit thereby. Howbeit, I see small likelihoode that any thing wil be done herein, while such as are best able to performe it, are content to looke on, straining courtesie who should beginne: some refusing the labour, in respect eyther of the labour it selfe, or of the small recompence that followeth it: considering withall, the carelesnesse, and thankelesnesse of this Age, wherein the best Workes (contriued with many yeares trauaile) are, for the most part, eyther scarcely vouchsafed the reading, or else read with a full stomacke, and a kinde of loathing.

Others

THE FIRST Booke of the Hiſtorie of *England*.

Declaring the eſtate of the Ile of Britanny vnder the Roman Empire.

IT is recorded by the moſt true, and antient of all Hiſtories, that the Iles of the *Gentiles*, after the vniuerſal flood, were firſt diuided and inhabited, by the poſteritie of *Iapher*, from whoſe eldeſt ſonne called *Gomer*, the *Cimbrians* (as Writers reporte) deriued their name and diſcent, imparting the ſame to the *Gaules*, and *Germans*, and conſequently, to the Inhabitants of this Ile; as being originally diſcended from the *Gaules*, that came hyther at the firſt, either vpon a naturall deſire, (which men commonly haue to diſcouer places vnknowne) or to auoyde the aſſaults of other Nations encroching vpon them; or happly to diſburden their natiue ſoyle, by ſeeking new habitations abroad. And this opinion of the *Britains* firſt comming out of *Gallia* ſeemeth the more probable, in regarde, both of the ſituation

of this Iland, in neerenesse to that continent, and also of the conformitie in language, religion, and policie, betweene the most ancient *Gauls*, and *Britans*.

Touching the name of *Britannie*, with the Gouernours and state thereof before the *Romans* arriuall, as they are things, not to haue bin neglected, if any certaine knowledge of them had bin left vs, by approued testimonies of former ages: so I think it not now requisite, therein, either to recite the different coniectures of other Memor of my selfe, constatly to affirm any thing, aswel for that those matters haue bin already handled at large by our moderne Writers, as also, for that I suppose, in ayming at such antique Originals (there being but one truth amidst many errors) a man may much more easily shoot wide, than hit the marke. I purpose therefore (omitting *Etymologies* of wo ords, and varietie of opinions concerning the first inhabitants and their doings) to take the name and affaires of this Ile, in such sort, as they were first known to the *Romans* in the time of *Iulius Cæsar*, when the *Romain* state, (which had tryed all kindes of gouernement, as namely that of *Kings*, then *Consuls*, *Decemuirs*, and *Tribunes*) began to be vsurped by a few, and soone after submitted it selfe to one. For about the foure and fiftieth yeare before the birth of our Saulour Christ, *Cæsar* being then Gouernor of *Gallia* for the Senate and people of *Rome*, and hauing brought some part of that country vnder obedience, intended a voyage with an army into *Britannie*, partly, vpon pretence of reuenge (for that the *Britans* had diuerse times ayded the *Gauls* in their warres against the *Romans*) and partly, to satisfie himselfe with the sight of the Iland, and the knowledge of the inhabitants, and their customes; whereto he might perhaps be the more readily induced, by Reason of his owne naturall inclination to vndertake great and difficult attempts, and with the increase of his owne glory, to enlarge the Limits of the *Roman* Empire, vnto which at that time the soueraignetie of the whole

world

world was, by diuine prouidence, allotted. And to this end he thought good to be firſt informed of the nature of the people, and of ſuch hauens in the Ile, as were moſt commodious to receiue any ſhipping that ſhould come thither: which things were in a manner vnknowne to the *Gaules*, by reaſon the Ilanders ſuffered none to haue acceſſe to them, but merchants onely, neither knew, euen they, any other places, than the ſea coaſts, and thoſe partes of the Ile, that confronted the continent of *Gallia*. Whereupon, *Caeſar* ſuppoſing it neceſſary to make ſome diſcouery, before he aduentured himſelfe in the action, ſent *Caius Voluſenus* in a long boat, with inſtructions, to inquire of the quantity of the "Iland, of the condition of the inhabitants, of their manner of making warre, of their gouernement in peace, and "what places were fitteſt for landing. After which diſpatch made, himſelfe, with all his forces (which were newly returned from making warre beyond the *Rheme*) marched into the country of the *Morini* (from whence was the ſhorteſt cutte into *Britannie*) for there he had appointed his ſhipping to meet him.

In the meane time, his purpoſe being known to the *Britans*, by report of the Marchants, (that traded with them,) diuerſe States of the Ile, (either fearing the greatneſſe of the *Romane* power, or affecting innouation for ſome priuate reſpects) ſent ouer Ambaſſadors, who promiſed, in their names, to deliuer hoſtages, for aſſurance of their obedience to the people of *Rome*; but *Caeſar*, (though he was fully reſolued to enter the Hand, yet he curteouſly entertained their offer, exhorting them to continue in that good minde, as meane to draw on the reſt, in following the example of their ſubmiſſion. For the better affecting wherof, he appointed *Comius* the chiefe Gouernor of the *Atrebates*, (as aniam, whoſe wiſdome, and faith he had tried; and whom, he knew to be reſpected of the *Britans*) to accompanie the Ambaſſadors in their returne, giuing him in charge to goe

to as many Cities, as would permitte him accesse; and to perswade the Rulers to submit themselues, as some of their Nation had already done: and further, to let them knowe, that himselfe, with all conuenient speede, would come thither. The Princes of the Ile, being as yet vnacquainted with any ciuill landes of gouernement, maintained quarrells and factions among themselues, whereby, while one sought to offend another, and to enlarge his owne parte, by encroching vpon his neighbours (not obseruing, that what they gained in particular one of another, they lost all together in the generall reckoning): they made an open passage in the end, for the *Romain* to conquher the whole (a thing common to thē with other Nations, who haue found the like effects to proceede from the like causes.) For the most part of the *Britans*, in those daies, delighted in warre, neglecting husbandry, or happily not their knowing the vse of it. Their maner of liuing (and customes) were much like to those of the inhabitants of *Gallia*. Their diet was such as Nature yeelded of her selfe, without the industrie of man: for though they had great store of cattell, yet they liued (specially in the mid land countries) with milk. It was held among them, as a thing vnlawfull, to eate of a hare, a henne, or a goose, and yet they nourished them all for recreations sake. Their apparrell was made of the skinnes of beastes, though their bodies were (for the most parte) naked and stained with woad, which gaue them a skiewish colour, and (as they supposed) made their aspect terrible to their enemies in battaile. Their houses were compact of stakes, reedes, and boughes of trees, fastned together in a round circle. They had tenne or twelue wiues a peece common among them, though the issue were alwayes accounted his, that first married the mother being a mayden. They were, in stature, taller than the *Gauls*, in wit, more simple, as being lesse ciuill.

By this time, *Velysenus*, (who durst not set foote on land

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to hazard himselfe amongst the barbarous Flanders) returned to *Cæsar* (namely, the fifte day after his setting forth) and made relation of such things as he had seene, & heard by report, in rouing vp and downe the coast in view of the Iland. *Cæsar* hauing composed some tumults in the hither parte of *Gallia*, that he might leaue no enemy behinde his backe to annoy him in his absence, pursued the enterprise of *Britannie*, hauing, to that end, prepared a Naue, which consisted of about foute score shippes of burden (a number sufficient, as he thought, for the transportation of two *Legions*) besides his long boats, wherein the *Questor*, the Lieutenants, and other officers of the Campe were to be imbarqued. There were also eighteene ships of burden (that lay winde bound about eight miles from the Port) appoynted to waft ouer the horsemen. *P. Sulpicius Rufus* a Lieutenant of a *Legion*, was commanded to keepe the hauen it selfe with such power, as was thought sufficient. These things being thus ordered, and a good parte of the summer now spent, *Cæsar* put out to sea about the third watch of the night, hauing giuen direction, that the horsemen should embarke in the vpper hauen, and follow him; whereto, while they were somewhat slacke, *Cæsar* with his shipping, about the fourth houre of the day, arriued vpon the coast of *Britannie*, where hee beheld the Cliffes possessed with a multitude of barbarous people, nidely armed, and ready to make resistance.

The nature of the place was such, as by reason of the shape his enclosing the sea on each side in a narrow strait, it gaue great aduantage to the *Britans* in casting down their darts vpon their enemies vnderneath them. *Cæsar* finding this place vnfit for landing his forces, put off from thence and cast anchor, expecting the rest of his Fleet and in the meane time calling a counsell of the *Lieutenants*, and *Tribunes* of the souldiers, he declared vnto them, what hee had vnderstood by *Volusenus*, and directed what he would

haue done; warning them, that (as the state of the warre, & specially the sea-seruice required) they would be ready to weigh anchor, and to remoue, to, and fro (vpon occasion) at a beck, and in an instant.

This done, hauing aduantage, both of wind, and tide, he set forward with his Nauy, about foure Leagues from that place, and then lay at anchor in view of the open, and plaine shore. But the Ilanders, vpon intelligence of the *Romans* purpose, had sent thither (before *Cæsars* comming) a company of horse men and chariots called *Esseda*, (which they then vsed in their warres) and following afterwardes with the rest of their forces, empeached their ennemies from landing, whose shippes, by reason of their huge bulkes (drawing much water) could not come neere to the shoare, so as the *Roman* souldiers were thereby enforced in places vnknowne (their bodies being charged with their armor) to leape into the water, and incounter the *Britans*, who assayled them nimbly with their dartes, and drawe their horses and charriots, with maine force, vpon them: The *Romans* being therewith terrified, as men vnacquainted with that kind of fight, fayled much of the wonted courage, which they had shewed in their former land seruices; and *Cæsar* perceiuing it, caused the long boates (which seemed more strange to the barbarous people, and were more fetuie able, by reason of their swiftnesse in motion) to put off, by little and little, from the greater ships, and to rowe towardes the shoare, from whence they might more easily charge the *Britans*, with their arrowes, slinges, and other warrelike engins, which (being then vnknowne to the Ilanders), as also the fashion of the shippes, and motion of the oares in the long boates, hauing stricken them with feare and amazement) caused them to make a stand, and afterwardes to drawe backe a little.

But the *Roman* souldiers making no haste to pursue them, by reason of the water, which they suspected in some

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places to be deepe and dangerous: the Standard-bearer of the Eagle for the tenth legion, praying that his attempt might proue ſucceſſefull to the legion, cryed out with a lowde voyce in this manner,

"Fellow ſouldiers, leape out of your boats, and follow "me, except you meane to betray your Standard to the e-"nemy: For mine owne part, I meane to diſcharge the du-tie I owe to the Common-wealth, and to my Generall. This ſaid, he caſt himſelfe into the water, and carried the Standard boldly againſt the *Britans*. Whereupon the ſoul-diers exhorting one another to follow the Enſigne, what fortune ſoeuer might befall, with common conſent leapt out of their long boates, one ſeconding another; and ſo wading through the water, at length got to ſhore, where began a ſharpe and bloody fight on both ſides; The *Ro-mans* were much incumbred, by reaſon, that they coulde neither keep their ranks, nor fight vpon firme ground, nor folow their owne Standards, for euery one as hee came on land, ranne confuſedlie, to that which was next him.

Some of the *Britans* (who knew the flattes, and ſhal-low places, eſpying the *Romanes*, as they came ſingle out of their ſhippes) pricked forward their horſes, and ſet vpon them, ouerlaying them with number, and finding them vnwealdy and vnready to make any great reſiſtance, by reaſon of the depth of the water, and weight of their armor, while the greater part of the barbarous people with their darts aſſailed them fiercely vpon the ſhore: which *Ceſar* perceiuing, commaunded the Cock-boates, and Skowts to be manned with Souldiers, whom he ſent in all haſte to reſcue their fellowes. There was a ſouldier of *Ceſars* com-pany called *Caſſius Scæua*, who, with ſome other of the ſame band, was carried, in a ſmall boat, vnto a rocke, which the ebbing ſea, in that place, had made acceſſible. The *Bri-tans* eſpying them, made thitherward; the reſt of the *Romans* eſcaping, *Scæua* alone was left vpon the rocke, to withſtand

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the furie of the enraged multitude, that assailed him with their dartes, which he receiued vpon his sheild, and thrust at them with his speare, till it was broken, and his helmet and shield lost; Then being tired with extreame toile, and dangerously wounded, he betooke himselfe to flight, and (carrying two light harnesses on his backe) with much difficulty recouered *Cesars* Tent, where he craued pardon, for making so bold an attempt without commandement of his Generall. *Cesar* did both remit the offence, and reward the offender, by bestowing vpon him the office of a *Centurion*. This was that *Scæua*, who afterwards gaue good cause to haue his name remembred in the *Roman* story for the memorable seruice he did to *Cesar* in the time of the ciuill warres betweene him and *Pompey* at the battaile neere *Dyrrachium*. The *Romans* hauing at length got footing on drie land, gaue a fresh charge vpon the *Britans*, and in the end enforced them to turne their backs, and leaue the shore, though they could not pursue them farre into the Land for want of horsemen (*Cesars* accustomed fortune failing him in this one accident.) The *Britans*, after this ouerthrow, assembling themselues together (vpon consultation had amongst them) sent Ambassadors to *Cesar*, promising to deliuer in pledges, or to doe whatsoeuer else hee would commaund them. With these Ambassadors came *Comius* of *Arras*, whom *Cesar* had sent before out of *Gallia* into *Britannie*, where, hauing deliuered the Message he had then in charge, he was apprehended, committed to prison, and now after the battaile released. The chiefe States of the *Britans* seeking to excuse their attempts, laid the blame vpon the multitude, who being the greater number, and wilfully bent to take armes, could neither by perswasion, nor authority be restrained: and they pretended their owne ignorance, as being a free people, and not experienced in the customes of other Nations. *Cesar*, although he reproued them for making warre in that maner (considering that

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of their own accord they had ſent ambaſſadors to him (before his arriuall in *Britannie*) to deſire peace: yet was content to pardon them, vpon deliuery of pledges, whereof ſome he receiued preſently, and the reſt being to come frō remote places, he appointed to be ſent in by a certaine day; So the *Britans* were diſmiſſed, to returne into their countries, & in the meane time there came diuerſe Princes from other parts of the Ile to ſubmit themſelues and their Cities to *Ceſar*. The fourth day after the *Romans* landing, the ſhips before mentioned, appointed for tranſportation of *Ceſars* horſemen, hauing a fauourable gale of wind, put out to the ſea from the vpper hauen, and approching neere the Iland, in view of the *Roman* Campe, a ſodaine ſtorme aroſe, and ſcattered them, driuing ſome of them backe againe to the Port from whence they came, and ſome others vpon the lower part of the Iland weſtward, where, after they had caſt anchor, (their keeles being almoſt ouerwhelmed with the waues,) they were carried by violence of the ſtorme in the night into the maine, and with very great perill recouered a harbor in the cōtinent. The ſame night the Moone was at the full, at which time commonly the Sea in thoſe partes is much troubled, and ouerfloweth the bankes by reaſon of the high tides, (a matter vnknowne to the *Romans*) inſomuch as the long boates, which tranſported the army, then lying vpon the ſhore, were filled with the flood, and the ſhippes of burden that lay at anchor, were beaten with the ſtorme, and ſplit in peeces, the greater number of them periſhing in the water, and the reſt being made altogither vnſeruiceable, (their anchors loſt, and tacklings broken;) Wherewith the *Romans* were much perplexed, for that they neither had any other ſhippes to tranſport them backe againe, nor any meanes to repaire, what the tempeſt had ruined: and *Ceſar* had formerly reſolued to winter in *Gallia*, by reaſon hee was vnfurniſhed of vittaile to maintaine the army during the winter ſeaſon. Which beeing

knowne to the chiefe States of the *Britans*, (who had mette together about the accomplishment of such things, as *Cesar* had commaunded them) they supposed a fit oportunitie was offered them to reuolt, while the *Romans* wanted horsemen, shipping, and all maner of prouisions; the number of their forces seeming also the lesse, in respect of the small circuit of their Campe, (*Cesar* hauing transported his *Legions* without any carriages, or such like warrelike necessaries.) Wherevpon they concluded to keepe them from vittaile, and to prolong the warre, till winter; assuring themselues, that if they could either vanquish the *Romans*, or barre them from returning thence, there would no forreine Nation after them aduenture to set foote againe in *Britannie*. Herevpon they entred into a second conspiracy, conueying themselues by stealth out of the *Roman* Campe, and gathering company to them priuily from diuerse parts, to make head against their ennemies. *Cesar*, albeit he were ignorant of the *Britans* purpose, yet supposing that the estate of his army, and the losse of his shippes were knowne to them, and considering that they had broken day with him, in detaining their pledges contrary to the contract, he suspected that, which afterwardes proued true. And therefore to prouide remedies against all chaunces, he caused Corne to be brought dayly out of the fields into his Campe, and such shippes as could not be made fit for seruice, were vsed to repaire the rest, and such other things, as were wanting therto, he appointed to be brought out of the continent; by which meanes, and the dilligence of his souldiers, with the losse of xij. shippes, the rest of his Nauy was made able to beare saile, and brooke the seas againe. While these things were in doing, the *Seauenth Legion*, (according to custome) was sent forth a forraging, till which time, the *Britans* reuolt was not certainly knowne, for that some of them remained a broad in the fieldes, and others came ordinarilie into the *Roman* Camp. The Warders in

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the Station before the Campe, gaue notice to *Ceſar*, that the ſame way which the *Legion* wēt, there appeared a greater duſt, then was wont to be ſeene. *Ceſar* miſtruſting ſome new practiſe of the *Britans*, commaunded the *Cohorts* (that kept warde) to march thither, appointing two others to ſupply their roomes, and the reſt of his forces to arme themſelues with ſpeede and follow him. When he approched neere the place deſcryed, he perceiued his ſouldiers to be ouercharged with the *Britans*, who aſſailed them on all ſides with their darts. For the *Britans* hauing conueyed their Corne from all other parts (this only excepted) and ſuſpecting that the *Romans* would come thither, they did lie in the woods all night, to intercept them, and finding them diſperſed, and vnready, they ſodainely ſet vppon them, (as they were reaping) killing a few of them, and diſordering the reſt with their horſes and chariots. The manner of their fighting in chariots was thus; Firſt, they vſed to ride round about their enimies forces, caſting their darts, where they ſaw aduantage, and oftentimes with the fiercenеſſe of their horſes, and whirling of their chariot wheeles, they broke their ennemies ranks, and being gotten in among the troopes of horſemen, they would leape out of their chariots, and fight on foot. The chariot-driuers in the meane time withdrew themſelues by little and little out of the battaile, and placed themſelues in ſuch ſort, as their maiſters (beeing ouer-matched by their enemies) might redily recouer their chariots, ſo that in their fighting they performed the offices, both of horſemen in ſwiftnes of motion, and alſo of footmen in keeping their ground; and by daily vſe, and exerciſe, they were growne ſo expert in mannaging their horſes, as driuing them forcibly downe a ſteepe hill, they were able to ſtay or turne them in the mid way, yea, to runne along the beame, to ſtand firme vpon the yoke, and to returne thence ſpeedily into their chariots againe.

The *Romans* being much troubled with this new kind of fight, *Cæsar* came in good time to the rescue. For vpon his approch, the *Britans* gaue ouer the skirmish, yet keeping still their ground as maisters of the field, and the *Romans* for feare, retired themselues to their Generall, who thought it no poynt of wisedome, to hazard his forces in a place vnknowne; but hauing stayed there a while, conducted the *Legions* backe againe to his Campe, and in the meane time, the *Britans* that were in the field, dispersed themselues and shruncke away. After this there were for many dayes together, continuall tempests, which kept the *Romans* in their Campe, and hindered the *Britans* from making any open attempt, though they sent messengers secretly into diuerse partes of the Ile, publishing abroade, what a small number of their enemies was left, what great hope there was of a rich booty, and what apparant likelihoode of recouering their liberty, if they could driue the *Romans* from their Campe. Hereupon in short time they assembled a great number of horse and footemen, to put this their purpose in execution; *Cæsar* vnderstanding therof, made preparation for defence, hauing gotten also about thirtie horsemen (which *Comius* of *Arras* brought ouer with him) whose seruice he supposed very necessary, if the *Britans* (according to their woonted maner) should seeke to saue themselues by flight. The *Legions* were placed in battaile array before his Campe. Then the *Britans* beganne the fight, which had not long continued when they gaue backe, and fled, the *Romanes* pursuing them as farre as they durst, killing many whome they ouertooke, and burning houses and townes as they returned to their Campe. The same day the *Britans* sent Ambassadours to *Cæsar*, desiring peace, which after long sute, was granted, vppon condition, that the number of the pledges (which was before imposed) should be now doubled, and speedily sent ouer into *Gallia*. For the *Æquinoctiall* drawing

neere,

neere, *Cæſar* made haſte thither, doubting his crazed ſhippes would not be well able to brooke the ſeas in winter. Whereuppon, taking aduantage of the next faire winde, hee embarqued his forces about midnight, and with the greateſt parte of his Fleete, arriued in the continent. The *Roman Senate* (vpon relation of theſe his ſeruices) decreed a ſupplication for him, for the ſpace of twentie daies.

In the ſpring of the yeare following, *Cæſar* hauing pacified ſome tumultes in *Gallia*, proſecuted the enterpriſe of *Britannie*, and to that end he had prepared a Fleet of new ſhippes, well appointed, and commodiouſly built for landing his forces (the want whereof hee had found before, to his great loſſe) and a ſufficient army conſiſting of fiue *Legions*, and a proportionall number of horſe, which he embarqued at *Portus Iccius* about the Sunne-ſetting, hauing a faire ſoutherne winde to ſette them forward; which failing them about midnight, the tide diuerted their courſe, ſo as in the morning hee diſcouered the Iland on his left hand, and then folowing the turning of the tide, he commanded his ſouldiers to vſe their oares, that they might reach that part of the Ile, where they had found beſt landing the ſummer before; wherin they tooke ſuch paines, as their ſhippes of burden kept way with their long boates and lighter veſſels. About noone they landed on the ſhore, where there appeared no man to make reſiſtance: the cauſe whereof was (as *Cæſar* afterwardes learned by ſuch priſoners, as he tooke) for that the *Britans* hauing aſſembled themſelues together in armes at the Sea ſide, were ſo terrified with the ſight of the ſhippes (which of all ſortes were eſteemed aboue eight hundred ſaile) that they left the ſhore, and ran to hide themſelues in the vpland country. *Cæſar* (vpon intelligence by Fugitiues, where the *Britiſh* forces lay) leauing at the Sea ſide, ten *Cohorts* & three hundred horſe to gard the ſhippes then lying at an-

chor,(whereof *Quintus Atrius* had the charge) marched forward, with the reſt of his army in the night, about xii. miles into the land, where he eſpied a multitude of *Britans* flocked together neere a riuer, hauing gotten the vpper ground,from whence they beganne to charge the *Romans* with their horſe and chariots; but being repulſed by *Cæſars* horſemen, they fled, and hidde themſelues in the woods, in a place, which being notably ſtrengthned both by Nature, and Arte, they had vſed as a fortreſſe in their ciuill warres among themſelues. For,by reaſon there were many great trees cut downe, and layd ouerthwart the paſſages round about, there could hardly any entraunce bee found into the wood; howbeit the *Britans* themſelues would oft times ſally forth vpon aduantage, and impeach the *Romans*, where they attempted to enter. Heerevpon *Cæſar* commaunded the ſouldiers of the *Seuenth Legion* to make a *Teſtudo*, and to raiſe a *Mount* againſt the place; by which meanes, after loſſe of men on both ſides, the *Romans*, in the end, got the Forte, and chaſed the *Britans* out of the wood; but *Cæſar* would not ſuffer his ſouldiers to purſue them farre, in regarde the place was vnknowne, and a great part of the day being then ſpent, he thought it fit to beſtow the reſt in fortifying his Campe. The next day in the morning, he ſent out horſemen and footemen three ſeuerall wayes to purſue them that fled; but, before they had gotten ſight of the *Britans*, certaine horſemen ſent from *Quintus Atrius* (who had charge of the ſhipping) brought newes, that a great tempeſt the night before had diſtreſſed his ſhippes, and beaten them vpon the ſhoare, their anchors and gables being not able to hold them, nor the Mariners to guide them, or to endure the force of the ſtorme. Wherevpon *Cæſar* cauſed the *Legions*, and horſemen to be ſent for backe againe, and marched with ſpeede towards the ſea ſide, where he found his nauy in ill plight, forty of his ſhippes being cleane caſt away, and the reſt

with

with great difficulty ſeeming likely to be recouered. For effecting whereof hee tooke ſome Shipwrightes out of the *Legions*, and ſent for others out of the continent; writing to *Labienus* (who had the charge of certaine *Legions* there, and the guarde of *Portus Iccius*) that he ſhould prepare as many ſhippes as hee could, to be ſent ouer vnto him with expedition. And though it were a worke of great toyle, yet he thought it neceſſary to haue all the ſhippes haled a ſhoare, and to be brought into the campe, where his land forces lay, that one place might be a ſafegard to thē both. In the accompliſhment hereof he ſpent ten daies (the ſouldiers ſcarce intermitting their labour in the night time, till all was finiſhed.) And then hauing fortified his Campe, and left there the ſame forces (which were before appointed to keepe the harbor) he returned to the place, whence he diſlodged vpō *Atrius* his aduertiſemēt; where he found the number of the *Britans* much increaſed by confluence of people from ſundry partes within the Iland. The chiefe commandement and direction for the warre was by publike conſent of the States of the Ile aſſigned to *Caſſibilin*, the boundes of whoſe territory were diuided from the maritime cities, by the riuer *Thamiſis*, & were diſtant from the ſea about foure ſcore miles. There had bin of long time continuall warre betweene him, and ſome other Princes of the Countries neere adioyning: but nowe both partes (fearing to be ouer-runne by a forraine ennemy) neglected priuate reſpects, and ioyned their forces together, appointing him to be their leader, as a man of whoſe valour, and ſufficiencie in militare affaires they had good experience. The *Roman* army being come in view of their ennemies Campe, the *Britans* preſſed forward to beginne the fight with their horſemen and chariots, and *Cæſar* ſent out his horſemen to encounter them, ſo as the battaile was maintained with great reſolution on both partes, and the euent thereof ſeemed doubtfull, till in the end, the *Britans* gaue

ground,

ground, and fled through the woods to the hilles, many of them being slaine in the chase, and some of the *Romans* also, who aduenterously pursued them too farre. Not long after, while the *Romans* (suspecting no danger) were occupied in fortefying their Campe, the *Britans* sallied sodainly out of the woods, and made an assault vpon the warders, that kept station before the Campe; to whose ayde *Cæsar* sent out two *Cohorts* (the chiefe of two *Legions*) which making a Lane through the midst of the *British* forces, ioyned themselues with their distressed fellowes, and rescued them from the perill, though *Quintus Laberius Durus* a *Tribune* of the souldiers was slaine in that enterprise. But new *Cohorts* comming to supply the former, the *Britans* were repulsed, and sought to saue themselues by flight. By the maner of this battaile, (which was fought in view of the *Roman* Campe) the *Romans* perceiued the aduantage, which the *Britans* had of them, and how ill themselues were appointed for such a kind of fight, when by reason of the weight of their armour, they could neither pursue such as fled, nor durst leaue their Ensignes, nor were able (without great disaduantage) to encounter the *British* horsemen, which oft times gaue ground of purpose, & hauing withdrawne themselues by little and little from the *Legions*, would leape out of their chariots and fight on foote; the maner of their fighting with horses and chariots, being alike dangerous to those that retired, and those that pursued. Besides, they diuided their forces into companies (when they fought) and had seuerall stations, with great distances betweene them, one troope seconding an other, and the sound and fresh men yeelding supplies to the wounded and weary. The day following the *Britans* were descryed vpon the hills a fare off, scattered here and there in great numbers together, being not very forward to begin a new fight, till *Cæsar* hauing sent out three *Legions*, and all his horsemen vnder the conduct of *C. Trebonius* the Lieute-

nant

want, to go a forraging, they flocked ſodainly together from all parts, and ſet vpon the forragers, not ſparing to aſſayle the Enſignes and *Legions* themſelues, who ſtrongly reſiſted them & made them turne their backs; whē the *Romans* horſemen alſo eagerly purſued thē, neuer giuing ouer the chaſe (as being cōfident in the ayde of the *Legions* that followed them) vntill they had driuen them headlong before them, killing all thoſe they ouertooke, and giuing the reſt no time, either to gather themſelues together, or to make a ſtand, or once to forſake their chariots. After this ouerthrow, many of the barbarous people (who had cōme frō diuerſe parts to ayde their countrymen) ſhrunke away; and *Cæſar* vnderſtanding, what courſe the reſt of the *Britans* meant to hold in proſecuting the warre, led his army to the bounds of *Caſſibelins* country vpon the riuer *Thamiſis*, which was paſſable on foot, in one place onely, and that with ſome difficulty. When he came thither, he perceiued that the *Britans* had great forces in readines on the further ſide of the riuer, the bankes whereof were fortified with ſharpe pointed ſtakes or piles, (about the bignes of a mās thigh, & bound about with lead,) pitched neere the ſhore, to empeach their paſſage; & ſome others of the ſame kind (the remnants wherof are to be ſeene at this day) were plāted couertly vnder water in the maine riuer. Wherof *Cæſar* hauing intelligence (by ſome Fugitiues, and priſoners that he had taken) commanded the horſemen, firſt, to enter the riuer, and the *Legions* to follow, ſo as (the dangerous places being diſcouered) the *Romans* waded through (their heads only appearing aboue water) and charged the *Britans* with ſuch violence, as they forced them to forſake the ſhore, & betake themſelues to flight.

Caſſibelin ſeeing no likely-hood to maintaine the warre any longer by force, diſmiſſed the greater part of his power, and keeping with him about 4000. chariots onely, retired into the woods, and places of moſt ſafety, driuing

men, and cattell before him out of the fields, all that way, by which he knew the *Romans* should passe with their army, whose horsemen (as they roued vp and downe to take booties) he surprised with his chariots, and distressed them in such sort, as they durst not march forward, but keeping themselues in their strength, gaue ouer their former purpose, and from thenceforth sought only to annoy the *Britans*, by spoiling and burning their houses and townes.

In the meane time the *Trinobantes*, one of the chiefe States in those parts sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar*, promising to submit themselues, and to be at his commaundement. There was also one *Mandubratius*, who had fled ouer to *Cæsar*, when he was in *Gallia*, and was now become a follower of his fortune, while preferring the satisfaction of his owne discontented humor, before the aduancement of the common cause, he serued as an instrument, to betray his Natiue country, abusing the credite he had with his countrimen, by working their submission, to his owne dishonor, and the aduantage of a forreine ennemy. His father *Imanentius*, (hauing bin sometimes chiefe ruler of the Citty of the *Trinobantes*, and well esteemed among them) was slaine by *Cassibelin* the present gouernor, against whom the Cittizens desired *Cæsar* to protect *Mandubratius*, & to commit vnto him the gouernement of their Citty, which *Cæsar* granted vpon deliuery of a certaine number of pledges, and a sufficient proportion of vittaile for prouision of his army. Herevpon the *Ceni-magni*, *Segontiaci*, *Ancalites*, *Bibroci*, and *Cassi*, petty States there about, sent Ambassadors, and yeelded themselues to *Cæsar*, who vnderstood by them, that *Cassibelin* his Towne (being wel stored with mē and cattell,) was not farre from thence. This Towne (as all others so called of the *Britans* in those dayes) was onely a circuit of ground enclosed with woods, and marishes, or else intrenched with a rampire of earth about it. *Cæsar*, cōming with his *Legion* to this place, (which he found very strong,

ſtrong, as being fortified, both naturally, and alſo by their induſtry of man) begun to aſſaile it on both ſides. The *Britans* hauing expected a while, the euent of the enterpriſe, and perceiuing themſelues vnable to withſtand the aſſault, iſſued out at a back way, where many of them being ſlaine, and ſome taken (as they fled,) the towne it ſelfe, and all the prouiſions within it, were left as a ſpoyle to the *Romans*.

While theſe things were in doing among the *Trinobantes*, *Caſſibelin* diſpatched meſſengers into the country of *Cantium*, that lies vpon the ſea. The inhabitants of thoſe parts were thē more ciuil & better furniſhed to make warre then any other of the Ile. The country at that time was gouerned by foure Kings, (as *Cæſar* himſelfe calleth them) either for that they had amōg thē a kind of abſolute gouernment in ſeuerall, or elſe, for that being the Regiſter of his own acts, he ſuppoſed it would be more for his glory to be reputed a conquerer of Kings. Their names were *Cingetorix*, *Carnilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, whom *Caſſibelin* then required to raiſe all the power they could make, & ōn the ſodaine, to aſſayle the *Romans* forces, that guarded their ſhippes at the ſea ſide. This was attempted accordingly, but with ill ſucceſſe, for that the *Romans* hauing timely aduertiſement of their purpoſe, preuented the execution thereof, by ſetting vpon them as they drew neere the *Roman* army; and ſo, after a great ſlaughter made of the *Britans* (*Cingetorix* a noble captaine and one of their Princes being taken priſoner) the *Romans* returned in ſafety to their Campe.

Caſſibelin, hearing of the vnhappy iſſue of this enterpriſe, after ſo many loſſes ſuſtained on his parte, (his country being waſted with warre, and himſelfe in a maner forſaken by the reuolt of the citties round about (which moſt of all diſcouraged him) ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar* by *Comius* of *Arras*, offering to ſubmit himſelfe vpon reaſonable cōditiōs. *Cæſar* determining to winter in *Gallia* (the ſtate of

his affaires there requiring it) and the ſummer being almoſt ſpent, commaunded, that he ſhould deliuer certaine pledges for aſſurance of his obedience, and that he ſhould offer no wrong, nor giue cauſe of offence to *Mandubratius*, or the *Trinobantes*, whom he had taken into ſpeciall protection. And then hauing impoſed a Tribute, to be paied yearely by the *Britans*, to the people of *Rome*, he marched towards the ſea ſide, where he imbarqued his forces, and arriued with them ſafely in the continent. Thus *Ceſar* hauing rather ſhewed ſome part of *Britannie* to the *Romans*, then made a conqueſt of the whole: ſuppoſed hee had done ſufficiently for his owne glory, in vndertaking a matter ſo rare and difficult in thoſe times. At his comming to *Rome* he preſented there certaine captiues, (which he had taken in the *Britiſh* warres) whoſe ſtrangeneſſe of ſhape and behauiour filled the peoples eyes, both with wonder, and delight. He offered alſo in the Temple of *Venus genitrix* a ſurcote embrodered with *Britiſh* pearle, as a *Trophy*, and ſpoyle of the *Ocean*, leauing to poſterity a perpetuall remembrance of his enterpriſe in this Iland, to the honour, both of his owne name, and of the *Roman* nation.

After the death of *Iulius Ceſar*, (by reaſon of the ciuill warres among the *Romans*) the Ile of *Britanie* was, for a time neglected, and *Auguſtus Ceſar* being ſetled in the Empire (which was then growne to ſuch greatnes, as it ſeemed euen cumbred therewith) accounted it good pollicy to containe the ſame within his knowne bounds. Beſides, the attempt was like to proue dangerous, and a matter of very great expence, to ſend an army ſo far off, to make war with a barbarous nation for deſire of glory onely (no ſpeciall cauſe beſides mouing thereto.) Howbeit (as ſome writers reporte) about twenty yeeres after *Iulius Ceſar* his firſt entrãce, *Auguſtus* intended a voiage hither, in perſon, alledging for pretence of the warre, the wrong offred to the *Roman* ſtate by ſuch Princes of the Ile, as had for certiane

tine yeeres with-held the Tribute, which *Cæsar* his predecessor had imposed. Vpon intelligence wherof, the *Britans* sent ouer Ambassadors, who meeting the Emperor in *Gallia Celtica* declared their submission and desired pardō. And the better to win fauor, they had carried ouer certain gifts of good valew, to be presented as offrings in the *Roman Capitol*, (hauing already learned the art to flatter for aduantage, and to appease Princes by rewards.) Herevpon a conditionall peace was granted them, and the Emperour hauing pacified some troubles in *Gallia*, returned to *Rome*. Then began the Ilanders to pay tribute, and custome for all kind of wares which they exchanged with the *Gauls*, as namely Iuory boxes, Iron chaines, and other trinkets of amber, and glasse, which were transported to and fro both out of *Gallia* and *Britannie*.

The yeere following, the *Britans* hauing failed in performance of conditions, he prepared for another expedition, but being set forward on his voyage, the reuolt of the *Cantabrians*, and *Asturians* stayed him from proceeding any further therin. After which time the *Britans* were left to themselues, to enioy their liberty, and vse their owne lawes without impeachment by forreine inuaders, for that the *Romans* hauing found the sweetnes of peace, after long ciuill warres, sought rather to keep in obedience such Prouinces, as had bin before time brought vnder subiection, then by attempting new conquests, to hazard the losse of that they had already gotten.

In those dayes the Country of the *Trinobantes* in *Britannie* was gouerned by *Cuno-belin*, who kept his residence at *Camalodunum*. He began first to reclaime the *Britans* from their rude behauiour, and to make his estate more respected, he afterwards caused his owne image to be stamped on his Coine after the maner of the *Romans* (a custome neuer vsed among the *Britans* before his daies, and but thē newly receiued by the *Romans* themselues; for before that

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After the death of *Iulius Ceſar*, (by reaſon of the ciuill warres among the *Romans*) the Ile of *Britanie* was, for a time neglected, and *Auguſtus Ceſar* being ſetled in the Empire (which was then growne to ſuch greatnes, as it ſeemed euen cumbred therewith) accounted it good policy to containe the ſame within his knowne bounds. Beſides, the attempt was like to proue dangerous, and a matter of very great expence, to ſend an army ſo far off, to make war with a barbarous nation for deſire of glory onely (no ſpeciall cauſe beſides mouing thereto.) Howbeit (as ſome writers reporte) about twenty yeeres after *Iulius Ceſar* his firſt entrãce, *Auguſtus* intended a voiage hither, in perſon, alledging for pretence of the warre, the wrong offred to the *Roman* ſtate by ſuch Princes of the Ile, as had for certiane

time yeeres with-held the Tribute, which *Cæsar* his predeceſſor had impoſed. Vpon intelligence wherof, the *Britans* ſent ouer Ambaſſadors, who meeting the Emperor in *Gallia Celtica* declared their ſubmiſſion and deſired pardō; And the better to win fauor, they had carried ouer certain gifts of good valew, to be preſented as offrings in the *Romane Capitol*, (hauing already learned the art to flatter for aduantage, and to appeaſe Princes by rewards.) Herevpon a conditionall peace was granted them, and the Emperour hauing pacified ſome troubles in *Gallia*, returned to *Rome*. Then began the Ilanders to pay tribute, and cuſtome for all kind of wares which they exchanged with the *Gauls*, as namely Iuory boxes, Iron chaines, and other trinkets of amber, and glaſſe, which were tranſported to and fro both out of *Gallia* and *Britannie*.

The yeere following, the *Britans* hauing failed in performance of conditions, he prepared for another expedition, but being ſet forward on his voyage, the reuolt of the *Cantabrians*, and *Aſturians* ſtayed him from proceeding any further therin. After which time the *Britans* were left to themſelues, to enioy their liberty, and vſe their owne lawes without impeachment by forreine inuaders, for that the *Romans* hauing found the ſweetnes of peace, after long ciuill warres, ſought rather to keep in obedience ſuch Prouinces, as had bin before time brought vnder ſubiection, then by attempting new conqueſts, to hazard the loſſe of that they had already gotten.

In thoſe dayes the Country of the *Trinobantes* in *Britannie* was gouerned by *Cuno-belin*, who kept his reſidence at *Camalodunum*. He began firſt to reclaime the *Britans* from their rude behauiour, and to make his eſtate more reſpected, he afterwards cauſed his owne image to be ſtamped on his Coine after the maner of the *Romans* (a cuſtome neuer vſed among the *Britans* before his daies, and but thē newly receiued by the *Romans* themſelues; for before that

time the *Britans* vſed rings of Iron and litle plates of braſſe of a certaine weight inſteed of Coine. During the time of his gouernment, the diuine myſtery of human redemption was accompliſhed by the Birth of our Sauiour Chriſt, (*Auguſtus Cæſar* then poſſeſſing the *Roman* Empire, which hee afterwards left to *Tiberius* his adopted ſon, a wary and politicke Prince, who following the aduiſe and example of *Auguſtus* did neither attempt any thing in *Britannie*, nor maintaine any garriſon there.

But *Caius Caligula* his ſucceſſor, had a meaning to haue inuaded the Ile, had not his raſh entrance into the action, and his ill ſucceſſe in the *German* warre ouerthrown the interpriſe; by reaſon whereof he brought nothing to effect, but only made a ridiculous expedition, (anſwerable to the vanity of his humor) bringing an army into the hither parts of *Belgia*, and there hauing receiued into protection *Admimus* (whom *Cuno-belin* his Father had baniſhed) and certaine other *Britiſh* Fugitiues, that came with him) hee writ vaunting letters to the *Senate*, as though the whole Iland had yeelded it ſelf, hauing giuen ſpeciall charge to the meſſenger, that his letters ſhould be carried in a Chariot to the *Forum*, and not deliuered to the *Conſuls*, but in a full *Senate*, and in the Temple of *Mars*. Afterwards drawing his forces downe to the ſea coaſts of *Belgia* (whence with wonder he beheld the high cliffes of the Ile poſſeſſed with barbarous people) he placed his ſouldiers in battaile array vpon the ſhore, and himſelfe entring into a long boat, was rowed a little way vpon the ſea. But not daring to aduenture further, he returned ſpeedily to land, and then commaunding a charge to be ſounded, as though hee would haue begun a fight, he appointed his ſouldiers to gather cockles, & muskles, in their helmets, terming them ſpoiles of the *Ocean*, & meet to be preſerued, as offrings due to the *Capitol*. For this exploite, he afterwards at his comming to *Rome* required a *Triumph*, and diuine honors to be aſſigned

al him; but finding the Senators, for the moſt part, vnwilling to giue their aſſent, he burſt out into threats, & had ſlaine ſome of them in the place, if they had not ſpeedily auoyded his fury. After this, himſelfe in open aſſembly made a declaration of his iourney, and what aduentures he had paſſed in the conqueſt of the *Ocean* (as himſelfe vainely termed it) whereat the common people, either for feare, or flattery, gaue a generall applauſe; which he (taking it as a teſtimony of their deſire, to haue him placed among their gods) rewarded in this maner. He cauſed a great quantity of gold and ſiluer to be ſcattered on the ground, and certaine poyſoned caltrops of yron to be caſt among them, whereby many were killed, partly with thoſe enuenomed engines, and partly with the preſſe one of an other (each man being earneſt in gathering, and ſuppoſing an other mans gaine his owne loſſe.) So naturally was he inclined to all kindes of miſchiefe, as he ſpared not the liues euen of thoſe, whom he thought to deſerue beſt at his hands.

But *Claudius* the Emperor, with better aduiſe, and ſucceſſe, vndertooke the matter of *Britanie*; & firſt by perſwaſion of *Bericus* a *Britiſh* fugitiue, and [illegible]rs whom the *Romans* had receiued into their protection (a matter that much diſcontented the *Britans*, and ſtirred them vp to reuolt) he ſent *Aulus Plautius* a *Roman* Senator, a man well experienced in militare affaires, to take charge of the army then remaining in *Gallia*, & to tranſport it into the Iland, whereat the ſouldiers grudged, cõplaining that they ſhould now make warre out of the world, and by protracting time with vnneceſſary delayes, they diſcouered openly their vnwillingneſſe to enter into the action, till *Narciſſus* a fauorite of *Claudius*, being ſent to appeaſe them, went vp into *Plautius* his Tribunall ſeat, and there, in an oration, declared to the ſouldiers the cauſes of his comming, and exhorted them, not to ſhrinke for feare of vncertaine dangers: that the enterpriſe it ſelfe, the more perillous it ſeemed, the

more

more honorable it would be to atchiue it: that themselues were the men whom the heauens had ordained to enlarge the bounds of the *Roman Empire*, and to make their owne names famous in the vtmost parts of the earth. But the souldiers at the first being moued with disdaine, cryed out in seditious maner (*Io. Saturnalia,*) as though they had bin then ready to solemnize a feast, at which the Custome was, that seruants should weare their Maisters apparrell, & represent their persons. Howbeit *Narcissus* giuing way to their fury for the present, did afterwards preuaile so farre with them, as partly for shame, and partly for hope of reward, they seemed content to follow *Plautius*, whithersoeuer he would conduct them. Then were the *Legionary* & *Auxiliary* souldiers diuided into three parts, so to bee embarqued, to the end, that if they should be empeached in one place, they might land in another. In crossing the sea, their shippes were shaken, & beaten backe with a contrary wind; albeit their courage fayled not, but rather increased, by reason of a fiery leame shooting from the *East* towardes the *West* (the selfesame way that they directed their course) which they interpreted as a token of good successe. And thereupon hoysing saile, they set forward againe, and with some difficulty (through the contrariety of wind and tide,) atriued in the Iland without any resistance, by reason that the *Britans* doubted not their comming; but then finding themselues surprised on the sodaine, they ran dispersedly to hide themselues in Woods and Marishes, holding it their best course, rather to prolong the warre, and weary their enemies by delaies, then to incounter them in the open field. But *Plautius* with much labor and hazard found out at length, their chiefe place of retreit, where he killed many of them, and tooke prisoner *Cataratacus* their Captaine, one of the Sonnes of *Cuno-belin*, (not long before deceased.) For this exploit the *Roman Senate* did afterwards grant him a *Triumph*, which the Emperor *Claudius* honored with his

his owne perſon, accompanying him as he went vp into the *Capitol*.

The *Boduni* (then liuing vnder the gouernment of the *Catieuchlani*) betooke themſelues to the protection of *Plautius*, who leauing garriſons in thoſe parts, marched towards a riuer, ouer which the *Britans* ſuppoſed that the *Romans* could not paſſe without a bridge, and therefore imagined themſelues ſafe, hauing pitched their Campe on the other ſide of the water. But *Plautius* ſent ouer certaine *Germans* (who being accuſtomed to ſwim ouer riuers with ſwift currents euen in their armor) found an eaſie paſſage to the further bank, and there ſet vpon the *Britans*, wounding the horſes which drew their Chariots, and by that meanes ouerthrowing their riders, and diſordering their whole power. Then was *Flauius Veſpaſian* (who had the leading of the *Second Legion*) & *Sabinus* his brother, appointed to paſſe ouer, and to charge them on a ſuddaine as they were diſperſed. Some of the *Britans* being ſlaine, and ſome taken priſoners, the night made an ende of the skirmiſh. The next morning the reſt of the diſperſed rout ſhewed themſelues vpon the ſhore, and gaue occaſion of a new fight, which continued a long time, with equall aduãtage, till *C. Sydius Geta* being in danger to haue bin taken, recouered himſelfe, and at the laſt enforced the *Britans* to retire; For which ſeruice he had afterwardes *Triumphal* honors aſsigned him, although he were no *Conſul*. In this conflict *Veſpaſian* (being beſet round about by the barbarous people) was in great danger, either to haue bin ſlaine, or taken, if he had not bin timely reſcued by *Titus* his ſon, who then excerciſed the office of a *Tribune* of the ſouldiers, and began in his tender yeares to giue ſome proofe of his valor. After this battaile, the *Britans* withdrew themſelues to the mouth of the riuer *Thamiſis*, neere the place, where it falles into the ſea, and being skilfull in the ſhallows and firme grounds paſſed ouer in ſafety, when as the

Romans that pursued them, (not knowing the dangerous places) were oft times in great hazard. Some of the *Germã* that were most forward to aduenture (by reason of their skill in swimming) assoone as they had got to the further shore, were compassed about and killed by the barbarous people, and the rest of the *Roman* army that followed was much distressed in the passage, and sharply assailed at their cõming on land; where began a bloody fight, in the which *Togodumnus* a *British* Prince, one of *Cunobelins* sonnes was slaine; whose death did nothing abate the courage of the *Britans*, but rather enflamed them with desire of reuenge: for the effecting wherof, they gathered together new Forces, from diuerse parts of the Ile. *Plautius*, fearing the greatnes of their power, and being straitned in a place of disaduantage, and danger, proceeded no farther at that time, but, fortifying only such townes as hee had alreadie taken, aduertised *Claudius* of the doubtfull state of his affaires.

In the meane time, *Vespasian* was imployed in other places of the Ile, where Fortune seemed to lay the foundation of that greatnes, vnto which he afterwardes attained; For in a short space, he fought thirty times with the *Britans*, ouercomming two warlike Nations, and taming the fierce *Belgæ*, whose ancestors, comming hither at the first out of *Gallia Belgica*, either to take booties, or to make war, gaue the name of their owne Country to such places as they had subdued: (a custome commonly vsed among the *Gauls*, when they seated themselues in any partes of this Iland) With like fortunate successe *Vespasian* proceeded in attempting, and conquering the Ile *Vectis*, that lieth on the south side of *Britannie*, when *Claudius* the Emperor being now furnished of all things necessary for the *British* expedition set forward with a mighty army, consisting of horsemen, footmen, and Elephants. He marched first to *Ostia*: from thence to *Massilia*: the rest of the voyage he made by land

land to *Geſſoriacum* in *Gallia*, where he embarqued. His forces being ſafely tranſported into the Ile, were led towards the riuer *Thamiſis*, where *Plautius* & *Veſpaſian* with their power attended his comming, and ſo the two armies being ioyned together, croſſed the riuer againe. The *Britans* that were aſſembled to encounter them, began the fight, which was ſharpely maintained on both ſides, till in the end, a great number of the Ilanders being ſlaine, the reſt fled into the woods, through which the *Romans* purſued them, euen to the towne of *Camalodunum*, which had bin the Royall ſeat of *Cunobelin*, and was then one of the moſt defenſible places in the dominions of the *Trinobanes*. This towne they ſurpriſed, and afterwards fortified, planting therein a *Colonie* of old ſouldiers, to ſtrengthen thoſe parts, and to keepe the inhabitants there in obedience. Then were the *Britans* diſarmed, howbeit *Claudius* remitted the confiſcation of their goods; for which fauour the barbarous people erected a Temple, and an Altar vnto him, honoring him as a god. Now the States of the country round about, being ſo weakened by the loſſe of their neighbours, & their own ciuil diſſentiõs, as they were vnable to reſiſt the *Roman* power any longer, began to offer their ſubmiſſion, promiſing to obey, and liue peaceably vnder the *Roman* gouernment; and ſo, by little, and little, the hither part of the Ile was reduced into the forme of a Prouince. In honor of this victory, *Claudius* was diuerſe times ſaluted by the name of *Imperator*, contrary to the *Roman* cuſtome, which permitted it but once for an expedition. The Senate of *Rome* alſo, vpon aduertiſement of his ſucceſſe, decreed, that he ſhould be called *Britannicus*, and that his ſonne ſhould haue the ſame title, as a ſurname proper, and hereditary to the *Claudian* family. *Meſſalina* his wife had the firſt place in counſel aſſigned hir, (as *Liuia* the wife of *Auguſtus* ſomtimes had,) & was alſo licenſed to ride in a chariot. At his returne to *Rome* (which was

the sixt moneth after his departure thence) hauing continued but sixteene daies onely in the Ile) he entred the City in a *Triumph* (performed with more then vsual ceremonies of state, whereat certaine Presidents of Prouinces, and banished men were permitted to be present. On the top of his pallace was placed a Crowne set with stems, and fore-parts of ships, which the *Romans* called (*Corona nauali*) as a signe of the conquest of the *Ocean*. Diuerse captaines, that had serued vnder him in *Britannie* were honored with *Triumphal ornaments*; Yeerly playes were appointed for him, and two Arches of *Triumph* adorned with *Trophies* were erected, the one at *Rome*, the other at *Gessoriacum*, (where he embarqued for *Britannie*) to remaine to succeeding ages, as perpetuall records of his victory. So great a matter was it then accounted, and a worke of such merit to haue subdued so small a part of the Iland.

In these termes stood the state of *Britannie*, when the prosecution of the warre was committed to *P. Ostorius Scapula*, who at his landing found all in an vprore, the *Britans* (that were yet vnconquered,) raunging the Confederates Country, and vsing the greater violence, for that they supposed the new Captaine as vnacquainted with his army (the winter also being then begun) would not come forth to encounter them; but he knowing well, that in such cases, the first successe breedeth, either feare, or confidence, drew together with speed his readiest *Cohorts*, and made towardes them, slaying such as resisted, and pursuing the residue, (whom hee found stragled abroad) lest they should make head againe. And that a faithles and cloaked peace might not giue, either the Captaine, or souldier, any time of idle repose, he disarmed all those whom he suspected, and hemmed them in with garrisons between *Antona* and *Sabrina*.

The first that began to stirre, were the *Iceniani*, a strong people, and vnshaken with warres, as hauing of their owne

accord

accord in former times, ſought the *Romans* alliance and amity. The Countries alſo adioining neere vnto them, following their example, prepared themſelues to fight, chooſing a place, that was compaſſed about with a rude trench, which had a narrow entrance to empeach the comming in of horſemen. That fence the *Roman* Captaine, (although he wanted the ſtrength of the *Legions*) went about to force with the aide of the Confederates alone, and hauing placed his *Cohorts* in rankes, he ſet his Troopes of horſemen alſo in like readines: Then giuing the ſigne of battaile, hee aſſailed the Rampire, and brake it, diſordering the *Britans*, who being ſtricken with a kind of remorſe for their rebellious attempts, and ſeeing the paſſages ſtopped vp on all ſides, ſhewed very great courage and valour in defending themſelues (as it falleth out oft times, where extremity of danger it ſelfe takes away all feare of danger.) In this fight *M. Oſtorius* the Lieutenants ſonne was crowned with an oken garland, as an honourable reward for ſauing a *Roman* Cittizen.

Now by the ſlaughter of the *Icenians*, the reſidue of the *Britans* (who ſtood vpon doubtfull termes, as wauering betweene warre and peace) were well quieted, and *Oſtorius* led his army againſt the *Cangi*, whoſe country hee ſpoyled and waſted, while the inhabitants durſt not come into the field, but priuily ſurpriſed ſuch as they found ſtragling behinde the *Roman* army; which was now come neere the ſea coaſt, that lookes toward *Ireland*, when as certaine tumults ſtirred among the *Brigantes*, broght back the Generall, who thought it beſt, not to enter into any new action, before he had made all ſure in thoſe parts; howbeit, vpō his comming thither, ſome few of the *Brigantes* (that firſt began to take armes) being put to death, the reſidue were pardoned, and the country quieted. For the Generall wiſely conſidering, that in ſuch caſes lenity ſometimes preuaileth, where force and rigor cannot, did ſeeke to win fa-

uour of the *Britans* by curteous vſage of ſuch as either fled vnto him for protection, or elſe, by the fortune of warre, fell into his hands, ſometimes pardoning them, ſometimes rewarding them, and ſometimes vſing them in ſeruice againſt their owne nation, as he did *Cogidunus* a *Britiſh* Prince, vpon whom he had beſtowed certaine cities in free gift, according to an ancient cuſtome among the *Romans*, who vſed euen Kings themſelues for inſtruments of bondage. But the *Silures* could neither by cruelty, nor faire meanes be held in, ſo as the Generall ſaw there was no way to keepe them vnder, but with a garriſon of *Legionary* ſouldiers; and to that end the *Colonie* at *Camalodunum* (conſiſting of a ſtrong company of old ſouldiers) was brought into the ſubdued country, to defend it againſt ſuch as ſhould rebell, and to make the confederates more willing to liue in obedience.

Then the army marched againſt the *Silures*, who beſides their naturall boldnes, relied much vpon the ſtrength of *Caractacus* their leader, a man that had waded through many dangers, and had bin fortunate in many aduentures, hauing gotten thereby ſuch reputation, as he was preferred, before all the *Britiſh* captaines. But as in pollicie and knowledge of the country, he had an aduantage of the *Romans*: ſo perceiuing himſelfe to be vnequally matched in ſtrength, he remooued the warre to the *Ordonices*, who entring into the action with him, (as fearing alike the *Roman* power) reſolued ioyntly to hazard the chaunce of warre. And herev ponthey prepared for battell, hauing choſen a place very cōmodious for thēſelues, & diſaduantageable for their enemies. Then they went to the top of an hill, & where they found any eaſie paſſage vp, they ſtopped the way with heapes of ſtones, in maner of a rampire. Not farre off, ran a riuer with an vncertaine foord, where, vpon the bancke, a company of the beſt ſouldiers were placed, for a defence in the fore warde. The leaders went about,

ex-

exhorting and encouraging the common ſouldiers, vſing ſuch perſwaſions as might beſt fit their humors, and the preſent occaſion; and *Caractacus* himſelfe, courſing vp and downe, proteſted, that that day, and that battell, ſhould « be either the beginning of recouery of liberty, or of per- « petuall ſeruitude. Then he called vpon the names of his « anceſtors, that had chaſed *Cæſar* the *Dictator* out of the « Ile, and had deliuered them from hatchets, and Tributes, « & protected their wiues and children from ſhame & vi- « olence. While he vttered theſe, or the like ſpeeches, the « people round about him made a noyſe, and euery man ſware, according to the religion of his country, that neither their enemies weapons, nor their owne wounds ſhould make them to giue ouer. That cheerefull cry, terrified and aſtonied the *Roman* General, and the rather, when he conſidered, how he was couped in, hauing the riuer beneath him, the fort before him, the high hilles hanging ouer it, and all things on euery ſide threatning danger, and deſtruction to the aſſaylers. Howbeit his ſouldiers demaunded the battell, crying, that *There was nothing which valour could not ouercome.* The *Prefects* and *Tribunes*, vſing the like ſpeeches, added courage to the reſt. Then *Oſtorius* hauing viewed the places of difficult acceſſe, led his ſouldiers (being hot and eager of the fight) vnto the further ſide of the riuer, and from thence to the rampire, where, while they fought with their darts, they had the worſt, but hauing broken downe the rude compacted heape of ſtones with a *Teſtudo*, and both armies comming to handy ſtrokes vpon equall aduantage, the *Britans* turned their backs, and ran to the hill top, the *Romans* purſuing thē both with their light, & heauy armed ſouldiers, the one aſſayling with darts, & the other (as they marched thicke together,) breaking the rankes, and beating downe the barbarous people, who had neither headpeece, nor armour to defend themſelues, ſo that being hedged in betweene the *Legionary* ſouldiers,

and

and the *Auxiliaries*, the greatest part of them were slaine in the place.

At this assault *Caractacus* his wife, and daughter were taken prisoners, and his Brethren yeelded to the ennemie; but himselfe driuen to extremity, escaped by flight into the Country of the *Brigantes*, hoping to receiue some aid of *Cartismandua* the Queene there. But, as it falleth out commonly with men in aduersitie, to be forsaken & left succorles, so insteed of finding the reliefe which he expected, he fell into the danger, which he little doubted. For *Cartismandua*, either fearing hir owne estate, or thinking to win fauor of the Conqueror (as Princes ofttimes make vse of one anothers misfortunes to serue their owne turnes) detayned him in prison a while, & afterwards deliuered him to *Ostorius*, who was exceeding glad that he had gotten him, and forthwith sent him to *Rome*, as a prize of great worth, and the happy fruites of nine yeares seruice in the warres. The report of him was spread throughout the Iles & Prouinces adioyning, and his name was renowned in most parts of *Italy*, each man desiring to see him, who had so long time withstood, and contemned that power, which held all the world in awe, and obedience. The Citty of *Rome* for many dayes together was filled only with talke of him, & expectation of his comming, and the Emperor himselfe as a Conqueror, by extolling his owne worthines, couertly added more glory to the conquered. The people assembled together, as it were, to see some notable and rare spectacle. The Emperors gard in armes were orderly placed in the field before the Campe. After this preparation made, the Prisoners, and *Trophies* were presented in this manner. First, the vassalls of *Caractacus* going formost, bowed their bodies to the people, as they passed, and seemed by their rufull countenances to discouer their feare. The expansions, chaines, & other spoyles taken in the warre were carried after them. Then *Caractacus* his Brethren, his Wife,

and

and Daughters followed; and laſt of all came *Caratacus* himſelfe. His body was naked, for the moſt part, and painted with the figures of diuerſe beaſtes. He ware a chaine of Iron about his necke, and another about his middle. The haire of his head hanging downe in long locks (curled by nature) couered his backe, and ſhoulders, and the haire of his vpper lip being parted on both ſides, lay vpon his breaſt. The reſt of his body was ſhauen all ouer. Neither was his behauior leſſe noted, then the ſtrangeneſſe of his habit: For he neither hung downe his head, nor craued mercy (as the reſt did) but went on boldy with a ſetled and ſterne countenance, till he came before the Emperors *Tribunall* ſeate, and there ſtanding ſtill a while, he after ſpake theſe, or the like words.

„ If either my vertues in proſperity, had beene an-
„ ſwerable to the greatnes of my eſtate, or the ſucceſſe of
„ my late attempts to the reſolution of my Minde, I might
„ haue come to this Citty, to haue bin entertained rather as
„ a Friend, then as a Captiue to be gazed vpon; For it
„ ſhould haue bin no diſgrace for the *Romans*, to haue ad-
„ mitted into ſociety with them, a man royally diſcended,
„ and a commaunder of many warlike Nations. But what
„ cloud ſoeuer *Fortune* hath caſt ouer my eſtate, ſhe is not
„ able to take from mee thoſe things, which the heauens
„ and Nature haue giuen mee: (that is,) the dignitie of my
„ Birth, and the Courage of my Minde, which neuer fay-
„ led mee. I know it is a Cuſtome among you, to make
„ your *Triumphs*, the Spectacles of other Mens Miſeries,
„ and in this my Calamitie, as in a Mirror, you do now be-
„ hold your owne glory. Yet know, that I was ſometimes
„ a Prince, furniſhed with ſtrength of men, and abiliments
„ of warre; and what meruaile is it, that I haue now loſt
„ them, ſince your owne experience hath taught you, that
„ the euents of warres are variable, and vncertain? I thought
„ that the deepe Waters, which like a Wall encloſe vs,
„

" (whom the heauens seeme to haue placed farre off, in ano-
" ther world by it selfe,) might haue bin a sufficient Defence
" for vs against forreine inuasion; But I see now, that your
" Desire of soueraintie admits no limitation, since neither the
" danger of an vnknowne sea, nor the Distance of place, can
" any longer warrant our safety and liberty. If you will needs
" commaund the whole world, then must all men become
" your vassalles, and liue vnder a forced obedience. For mine
" own part, as long as I was able, I made resistance, being vn-
" willing to submit my necke to a forreigne Yoke. The law
" of naturall reason alloweth euery man to defend himselfe,
" being assailed, and to withstand force, by force. Had I
" yeelded at the first, thy glory, and my mishap had not bin
" so renowned, but both of them would soone haue bin for-
" gotten. *Fortune* hath done her worst, & we haue now no-
" thing left vs but our liues, which if thou spare (hauing
" power to spill) thou shalt do that, which best beseemeth a
" great Minde, and a noble Nature.

The Emperor hearing this speach, and wondring to see such boldnes and Constancie of Mind in a deiected estate, pardoned both him, and the rest of his Company, commaunding them to be vnbound, & so dismissed them. For many daies together, *Caractacus* his Fortune ministred matter of discourse to the Lordes of the Senate, who affirmed the spectacle of his Captiuity to be no lesse honorable, then that of *Syphax* the *Numidian* King, ouer whome *P. Scipio* triumphed, or that of *Perses*, whom *Paulus Æmilius* vanquished, or of any other Kings, that had in former times bin taken in warre, and shewed to the people. Then publicke honors of triumph were decreed for *Ostorius*, whose fortunes being now at the highest, began afterwards to decline, by reason that either *Caractacus* (the obiect of his valor) being remoued, he supposed he had made a full conquest, and therfore followed the seruice more carelessly: or else, for that the residue of the *Britans*, hauing

compassion

aſpaſſion of the misfortune of ſo mighty a Prince, & being eager of reuenge, renewed the warre: for they aſſayled the *Legionary Cohorts* which were left behind to build fortreſſes in the *Silures* Country, killed the Campe-Maiſter, and eight Centurions, beſides ſome of the forwardeſt ſouldiers, and they had put al the reſt to the ſword, if ſpeedy reſcue had not come from the Villages and Forts adioyning. Diuerſe other ſallies they made, as time and place gaue thē aduantage, preuailing ſometimes by ſtrength, ſomtimes by pollicy, and ſometimes by chaunce. The Principall Motiue, that induced the reſt to take armes, was the example of the *Silures*, who were moſt reſolutely bent, as being exaſperated, by reaſon of a ſpeech that the *Roman* Emperour had vſed, which was: That he would roote out the name of the *Silures*, as the *Sicambrians* had bin in former time. This made thē bold & deſperate to aduenture, as men knowing their deſtime before hand. Many skirmiſhes they had, in ſurpriſing the ſcattered troopes of the *Roman* ſouldiers, and often times with good ſucceſſe, in taking rich booties, and priſoners, and diſtributing the ſpoyles among their neighbors, by which meanes they drew them alſo to reuolt.

In the meane time, *Oſtorius* wearied with care and trauaile, ended his life. Whereof *Claudius* the Emperor being aduertiſed, ſent *Aulus Didius* to take charge of the army in *Britannie*, where notwithſtanding all the haſte hee made, he found all out of frame: *Manlius Valens* with his *Legion* hauing encountred the *Britans* with ill ſucceſſe, which, by report of the Ilanders, was made greater thē indeed it was, to terriſie the new Gouernor, who alſo made vſe of the ſame pollicy to ſerue his owne turne; for by encreaſing the fame of that, which hee heard reported, hee ſuppoſed, either to win greater praiſe, if he preuailed, or to purchaſe a more fauourable cenſure of his actions, if hee miſcarried. The *Silures* had made many roades into the ſubdued Country, waſting, and ſpoyling round about,

when *Didius* the *Lieutenant*, vpon his first arriuall, entring into the field, restrained their outrage, and for a while kept them in some awe. After *Caractacus* was taken, *Venutius*, a Prince, faithfull to the *Romans*, and protected by them (so long as *Cartismandua* his wife and hee agreed together) vpon priuate discontentment began a new rebellion. For *Cartismandua* (whom the *Romans* speciallie fauoured for the deliuery of *Caractacus*) abounding now in peace, wealth, and plenty (which are commonly the nurses of licencious liuing) fell in loue with *Velocatus* one of her husbands seruants, and forgetting in the end her owne honor, preferred him before *Venutius*, who being deeply touched with such an open iniury, & disgrace, raised a power, to expell hir and hir paramor out of the kingdome. The warre seemed at the first, to haue bin maintained betweene themselues, and their priuate followers onely, till *Cartismandua*, by pollicy, had taken *Venutius* his Brother, and certaine of his kinsemen: and then the inhabitants round about, fearing the euent, and disdayning to be brought vnder the seruile Yoke of a Woman, declared themselues for *Venutius*, and with a choise number of youthfull and well experienced souldiers, inuaded the Country: whereof *Didius* hauing timely intelligence, sent certaine *Cohorts* to encounter them. Herevpon insued a sharp Conflict, the successe whereof was much doubted in the beginning, but in the end, the *Romans* preuailed. The like fortune also had *Caesius Nasica* with his *Legion*; For *Didius* himselfe, as a man striken in yeeres, and fitter to direct, then execute, vsed (for the most part) the Ministery of other Men, keeping that, which his predecessors had gotten, and building only some few castles, and places of Defence within the Land, to win thereby, a fame of augmenting the office.

This was the state of the affaires in *Britannie*, when *Claudius* the Emperor died, leauing the *Roman Monarchie* to *Nero* his adopted sonne, who (after his first fiue yeares

spent)

(pene) being giuen ouer to all kinds of vice, neglected the gouernement both at home and abroad, not daring to enter into any militare actiõs; & it was thought that he would haue reuoked the army out of *Britannie*, if very ſhame, in detracting from his fathers glory, and looſing that, which he had won, had not withheld him. About that time *Veranius* was Gouernor in *Britannie*, where the ſhortnes of his continuance, ſuffred him not to effect any great matter; for he dyed in the firſt yeare of his gouernement; and then was the Prouince aſsigned to *Suetonius Paulinus*, one of the moſt famous men of that age for militare matters. His good ſucceſſe at his firſt entrance, in ſubduing Nations, & eſtabliſhing garriſons (where need required) made him bold to aſſaile the Ile of *Mona*, (lying in the Weſt part of *Britannie*) as hauing bin a common receptacle of Fugitiues during the warre. In his paſſage thither he left the country behinde him (as he marched) vnfurniſhed in diuerſe places, laying it thereby open to all oportunities of annoyance. At his arriuall, the barbarous people rudely armed, ſtanding vpon the ſhore, made ſhew of their purpoſe to reſiſt: The Women in mourning attire (their haire about their eares) ſhaking burning fire-brands like *Furies* of hel, ran vp and downe, and the *Druydes* lifting vp their handes towardes Heauen, filled the ayre with cryes and curſes; Theſe *Druydes* were certain Prieſts had in great reuerence among the *Britans*. They kept their reſidence, for the moſt part, in ſhady and darke groues (as fitteſt places for deuotion.) Among all trees, they moſt eſteemed the oake, as hallowed, and without the which, they could not performe their ſuperſtitious rites. Their ſacrifices were both priuate and publicke. They inſtructed the Youth of *Britannie*, & decided controuerſies; ciuill, and criminall. If any man refuſed to ſtand to their award, he was forbiddē to be preſent at their ſacrifices, which was accounted the greateſt puniſhment that might be; for thereby he was reputed a

notorious offender, exempt from the ordinary protection of the laws, vncapable of any preferment, & al men would flie his company. Amongst these Priestes there was alwayes one, that had the chiefe authority, and he being dead, the worthiest of them that survived, succeeded in his place. If there seemed to be an equality of worthinesse among more then one, then the choise was made by plurality of voyces. At one certaine time in the yeare, they vsed to hold a Session in *Gallia* in some consecrated place, where they heard and determined causes; For the superstition was first brought thither out of *Britannie*. They had immunitie from all maner of Tributes, and from seruice in the warres; by reason of which priuiledges, they drew to them many followers, whom they taught a great number of verses by heart, supposing it vnlawfull to commit those sacred things to writing; whereas in other matters, as well publike, as priuate, they vsed the *Greeke* letters. And this it is likely they did, either for that they would not haue the knowledge of their superstitious rites laid open to the cõmon people (in whom ignorance seemeth to ingender a kinde of deuotion) or else for that they would haue their schollers to trust the more to their memory, while they wanted the help of writing. They preached, that the soule was immortall, and that after the death of one man it went to another. By this perswasion they stirred vp men to vertue, and tooke away the feare of death (the maine obstacle of glorious aduentures.) Other things they taught also concerning the motion of the starres, the situation of the earth, and the power of their prophane gods. The strange behauiour of these religious Priests, & the outeries of the people of *Mona* so amazed the *Roman* souldiers, that like men inchaunted, they stood still without motion, till the Captaine spake vnto thē, & encouraged thē to aduenture, not fearing a flocke of seely women, or franticke people; and then boldly giuing the charge, he soone disordered

and

and dispersed them, making himselfe master of the field: which done, the *Roman* souldiers entred the Townes, and placed garrisons there, felling the woods which the inhabitants superstitiously reputed holy, by reason of the Altars whereupon they sacrificed the blood of captiues, and prophecied of the successe of their owne affaires, by viewing the entralls of men, whom they had killed.

In the meane time *Prasutagus* King of the *Icenians*, a man renowned for his riches, did by his last will make the *Romen* Emperor his heire, (ioyntly with two of his daughters,) supposing, that thereby his kingdome, and family should haue bin maintained in good estate, and protected from violence after his death: all which fell out contrary to his hopes; for his kingdome was made a prey to the souldiers, *Voadica* his wife whipped, his daughters deflowred, such as were of his family made slaues, and the wealthiest men of his kingdome, either by open force, or surmised pretences, depriued of their goods, and dispossessed of their inheritance. Besides that, *Seneca* one of *Neroes* counsellors hauing forced diuerse of the better sort of the *Britans*, to take great summes of money of him vpon vsury, did then, for his priuate gaine, exact the payment of the principall, vpon a sodaine, to the vtter vndoing of his debtors: and *Decianus Catus* the Procurator in *Britannie*, renued the Confiscation of their goods, which *Claudius* the Emperor had pardoned. The souldiers placed in the *Colonie* at *Camalodunum*, had thrust the owners and auncient inhabitants out of their houses, terming them slaues, & drudges, and abusing them in all reproachfull manner. The Temple erected in the honor of *Claudius*, was an eie-sore, and continuall burden vnto them, while the Priestes *Augustales* that attended there, wasted the wealth of the inhabitants vnder the pretext of religion. To these common greuances of the afflicted people, the present occasion seemed to offer meanes of redresse, while the *Roman* Generall

was

was making warre in *Mona*. Whervpon they resolued to take armes, inciting the *Trinobantes* and other nations (that were not wholy brought vnder subiection) to do the like. Then they began to discourse of the miseries of bondage, to lay their iniuries together, aggrauating them by their owne Constructions, and complayning, that their patience had profited them nothing, but to draw heauier burdens "vpō them, as Men that would gently beare: That whereas "in former times they had onely one Commaunder, now "there was two thrust vpon them, the *Lieutenant* to sucke "their blood, and the *Procurator* their substance, whose dis- "agreement was the vexation of the subiect, and agreement, "their vtter vndoing, while the one burdened them with "Souldiers and Captaines, the other with wrongs, and in- "dignities: that the lust and couetousnes of these their enne- "mies, laid hold vppon all persons without exception: that "though in the field he that spoyleth, bee commonly the "stronger, yet themselues were by Cowards, and weaklings "(for the most part) dispossest of their houses, bereft of "their childrē, enioyned to yeeld souldiers for other mēs be- "hoofe, as though they were such a kind of people, as knew "how to doe any thing else, saue only to die for their owne "country; For otherwise there was but a handfull of Souldi- "ers come ouer, if they did but reckon their owne number, "cōsidering withall, that *Germany* had already shakē off the "Yoke, hauing no *Ocean* Sea, but a riuer to defend it: that "the causes then mouing them to take armes, were iust, and "honorable; namely, to recouer their Liberty, and to defend "their Parents, Wiues, Children, and Country; whereas the "*Romans* had nothing to prouoke them to warre, but their "owne couetousnes, and wanton lust, and were likely enogh "to depart (as *Iulius Cæsar* had done) if themselues would i- "mitate the virtues of their progenitors, and not be dismaied "with the doubtfull euent of one skirmish, or two, seeing "that Men in misery haue commonly more courage (then

at other times) and more conſtancy to continue: and now the heauens themſelues ſeemed to pitty their poore eſtate, by ſending the *Roman* Gouernour out of the way, & confining the army (as it were) into an other Iland; by which meanes, opportunity of reuenge, and hope of libertie was offered: and finally, that being aſſembled to deuiſe, and deliberate together, they had obtained the hardeſt point in an action of that nature, wherein it were more danger to bee taken conſulting, then doing. With theſe and the like ſpeeches they ſtirred vp one another, each man laying open his owne particular greeuances, and adding them to the common cauſe.

About this time, diuerſe prodigious ſignes were noted, to portend the ſubuerſion of the *Roman Colonie*, as namely, an Image of *Victory* falling downe reuerſed at *Camalodunũ*; Strange noyſes ſounding in the ayre: Strange apparitions ſeene in the ſea: The *Ocean* bloody in ſhew: and the print of Mens bodies vpon the ſandes. Diuerſe conſtructions were made of theſe things as ominous, whether that they proceed of ſome naturall cauſes (though not alwaies obſerued,) or elſe that they do neceſſarily foregoe the ruine & change of great States. Howbeit commonly in ſuch caſes, Mens Minds do miſgiue them, while they frame the future euent of things anſwerable to their owne fearefull Imaginations; and great alterations falling out ſometimes after like accidents, they ſuperſtitiouſly ſuppoſe them, to be alwaies the certaine fore-runners of deſtruction. The apprehenſion of theſe things, at the firſt, ſtrooke the *Romans* with greater feare, by reaſon of the abſence of their Generall, and thereupon they required the aide of *Catus Decianus* the *Procurator*, who ſent a ſmall company badly armed, to renforce the garriſon. The old ſoldiers that had bin left within the Towne, (although few in number) yet truſting to the franchize of the Temple, and not doubting the ſecret conſpiracy of their Confederates, were in a maner careles,

as in times of peace, following their pleasures, and making no prouision for defence. The *Britans*, hauing in the meane time, taken armes vnder the Conduct of *Vonaica*, a Lady of the blood of their Kings (for in matter of gouernement they made no difference of sex) and being informed of the state of the *Colonie*, determined first to assaile the Townes and Forts in their passage thither. The good successe they had in those attempts, made them desirous to inuade the *Colonie* it selfe, and *Vonaica* as their leader, being a woman of a great spirit, and comely personage, (apparelled in a loose gowne of diuerse colours, with a golden chaine about hir necke, and a light speare in hir hand) standing vpon a heape of Turues, the better to be seene (hir daughters on each side of hir) with a shrill voyce vttered these, or the like words.

« It is no new custome for the *Britans* to make warre vn-
« der the leading of women, ennobled by their birth and dis-
« cents; the examples of former times can well witnesse the
« experience thereof. Howbeit at this present, I will dis-
« claime all titles of dignity, and prerogatiues of blood: and
« what difference soeuer there is in our estates, yet shall our
« fortune, in this action, be indifferent and common to vs
« both. I shall not need to repeate that, which you all know
« but too wel: namely, what miseries we haue endured vnder
« the tiranny of this proud nation. You haue had the triall
« both of libertie and bondage, & I doubt not but you find
« now, how much the one is to be preferred before the o-
« ther; & howsoeuer some of you heretofore, haue for pri-
« uate respects, inclined to the *Roman* gouernors, as fauorers
« of their vsurped souerainty: yet I suppose you will nowe
« confesse with mee, that freedome in a poore estate, is better
« then golden fetters. For what abuse can there be named so
« vile, or indignity so disgracefull, that hath not bin offered
« vs, without respect of degree, age, or sex? wee till our
« grounds, and sweat for other men, that reape the sweete of

our

our trauailes; the wealth that wee gather to maintaine our »
ſelues, and our families, is by other men waſtfully and rio- »
touſly miſ-pent; we haue nothing of our owne, but what »
they leaue vs, and nothing left vs, but labour and vexation; »
our bodies and eſtates being conſumed, to ſatisfie their am- »
bition and couetouſneſſe; Wee haue not ſo much as our »
heads toll-free: ſo narrowly are we ſifted, from the higheſt »
to the loweſt. Other ſubdued nations are yet, by death, fre- »
ed from bondage, but we, euen after death, ſeeme to liue »
ſtill in thraldome, while we are enforced to pay tribute, as »
well for the dead, as the liuing. What! are we a nation ſo »
contemptible, that we can ſerue to no other vſe, then to be »
ſlaues? or ſo vnhappy, that death it ſelfe cannot acquite vs »
from being miſerable? How long ſhall we giue way to »
our owne wrongs? Shall we hope for reformation of theſe »
abuſes? Nay, we haue hoped too long, and by patient bea- »
ring of one iniurie, we haue drawne on another. Why »
ſhould we not rather ſeeke to redreſſe them? for if we enter »
into due conſideration of our ſelues, what are the *Romans* »
more then we? Our bodies are as ſtrong as theirs: our »
numbers greater. We haue agility of body, (our women »
no leſſe then our men) to run, to leape, to ſwimme, and to »
performe all warlike exerciſes; for which (indeed) we are »
naturally more fit, then for the ſpade, plough, or handy »
crafts; And howſoeuer the *Romans* may ſeeme fortunate by »
the folly, or weaknes of other nations, yet are they not »
comparable vnto vs, whom nature hath framed to indure »
hunger, cold, and labour, and to be content with things ne- »
ceſſary onely. For to vs euery herbe and roote is meate, »
each riuer, and ſpring yeeldeth vs drinke, while wee ſeeke »
no further then to appeaſe hunger, and quench thirſt; each »
tree ſerues for ſhelter againſt ſtormes in winter, and for »
ſhadow againſt the parching heate of ſummer; wee need »
no other beds, then the earth, nor couering, then the hea- »
uens; whereas they muſt haue their ioynts ſuppled with »

« hot baths, sweete oyntments, and soft couches, and their « bodies pampered with wine, dainty fare, and all kinde of « effeminate nicenes and delicacy. These be the properties, « wherein they imitate their master *Nero*, who hath onely the « shape of a man, being indeed a woman, or rather, neither « man nor woman, but a monster of nature, a singer, a fid- « ler, a stage-player, a murtherer, and one that excelleth other « men as farre in vice, as he doth in preheminence of de- « gree. Besides all this, the cause of our warre is iust, and the « diuine powers (that fauour Iustice,) haue made our first « attempts prosperous: and me thinketh, that the necessity of « our case, were able to make, euen cowards, valiant. Your « aunce stors could make head against *Iulius Cæsar*, and the « Emperors *Caligula* & *Claudius*. The *Germans* haue lately « freed themselues by that memorable ouerthrow of the *Ro-* « *man Legions* vnder the conduct of *Quintilius Varus*, and « shall not we, (who scorne to be reputed inferiour to the « *Germans* in valor) be confident in our owne strength, and « boldly aduenture: considering, that if we preuaile, we reco- « uer our lost liberty, if we be forced to retire, wee haue « woods, hills, and marrishes for our refuge, and if we die, we « doe but sell those liues with honor, which we cannot pos- « sesse with safety. For mine owne part, you shall finde mee « no lesse ready to execute, (when time serues,) then I am « nowe to aduise and exhort you: my selfe hauing deter- « mined, either to vanquish, or die; If any of you be other- « wise minded, then liue, and be slaues still.

With these and the like speeches, she inflamed the harts that were already kindled, and perswading the *Britans* to pursue their enuemies, as Dogs and Woolues do fearefull Hares and Foxes. she let slip out of her lap a quick Hare, at whose running through the Campe, the *Britans* shouted, apprehending it as a matter ominous, and fore-signifying the *Romans* flight. And thereupon they cryed that they might be speedily led to the *Colonie* it selfe, (as the seat of

their

their slauery) which at their first comming they surprised, killing, spoiling, and consuming all with sword, and fire; except the Temple onely, into which the souldiers fled as a *Sanctuary*, though it could not long protect them from the violence of the furious Multitude. *Petilius Cerealis* the *Lieutenant* of the *Ninth Legion*, comming to succour the garrison, had all his footmen slaine, and himselfe with a few horse hardly escaped. *Catus* the *Procurator* knowing himselfe to bee odious to the *Britans*, (by reason of the extortions he had committed in his office,) fled secretly into *Gallia*. But *Suetonius*, vpon intelligence of the reuolt, returned out of *Mona*, and led his Army, with some difficultie, towards *London* (a place not knowne at that time by the name of a *Colonie*, but famous onely, for concourse of merchants and trafficke. There he stayed a while, as doubting what course to take: the small number of his forces, and the ill successe of *Cerealis* making him more wary; and he supposed it would be a worke well worth his labor, if with the losse of one Towne, hee could preserue the rest, that were likely to reuolt; Whervpon, furnishing his defective Companies with such able men as were then in the Towne, although the *Londoners* with teares implored his aide, and desired his aboad there for their defence: yet he marched forward, leauing behind him, all such, as either by reason of their age, sex, or other infirmities could not follow, or else, for loue of the place, (as beeing bred, and borne there), would not abandon it. The Towne being thus weakelie garded, was taken by the *Britans*, and the people therein put all to the sword. The like Calamitie befell the free Towne of *Verulamium*, by reason that Diuerse of the *Britans* finding their owne strength, forsooke their Forts, and assailed the most notable and wealthy places, enriching themselues with the spoile of their ennemies, whom they hanged, burned, and crucified, exercising all kinds of Cruelties, that a Minde enraged with desire of reuenge could

deuiſe. They tooke no priſoners, either to preſerue for ranſome, or to exchange, according to the lawes of warre, but ſlue both Cittizens and Confederates, to the number of about 70000. *Suetonius* with the *Fourteenth Legion*, ſeconded by the Standard-bearers of the *Twentieth*, and ſome *Auxiliaries*, made haſte to encounter the *Britans*, and reſolued without further delay, to try the chance of a ſet battaile. Then he pitched, in a place that had a narrow entrance, with a thicke wood for a defence behinde him, and a faire wide plaine before his Campe. The *Legionary* ſouldiers were marſhalled together in thicke ranks, the light harneſſed incloſing them about, and the horſemen making wings on each ſide. *Pœnius Poſthumus* the Campe Maiſter of the *Second Legion*, was appointed to lead the foreward, but he contemptuouſly refuſed the charge.

In the meane time the *Britans* ranged abroad in great troopes, triumphing for their late good ſucceſſe, and being encouraged by the example of *Voadica* their Generall, were fiercely bent to aſſaile the *Roman* Campe, ſuppoſing now, that no force was able to reſiſt them. And they had brought their wiues with them, and placed them in waggons about the vtmoſt parts of the plaine, to be the beholders of their valiant Acts, and witneſſes of their expected victory. *Suetonius* being now ready to ioyne battaile, though he perceiued that his ſouldiers, were not much diſmaied with the ſight of ſo great numbers ſcattered vpon the plaine: yet he ſuppoſed it not vnneceſſarie to vſe ſome ſpeach to them, by way of exhortation, and therfore began in this manner.

"I cannot now vſe many words to exhort you; the time
"permits it not, and the preſent occaſion requireth rather
"deedes then words. Yet let not our ſmal number diſcourage
"you, conſidering that your anceſtors, with a ſmaller num-
"ber, haue effected greater matters, and that where many *Le-*
"*gions* haue bin in the field, a few ſouldiers haue carryed a-

way

way the victory? What a glory ſhall it be for you then, if » with ſo ſmall a power, you can purchaſe the praiſe of a » whole army? There is no feare of Ambuſh; the Woods » gard you behind, and on the Plaine before you lieth your » enemies Campe, wherein you may behold more women, » then men, and the men themſelues, for the moſt part, vnar- » med, and not likely to endure the points and ſtrokes of our » weapons, which they haue ſo often felt to their ſmart. It » ſtands you now vpō, to approue your ſelues, the ſame men » you are reputed to be. This is the time, either to recouer » that you haue loſt, or, to looſe that, which you ſhall neuer » recouer. You fight now, not for Honour onely, but for » Honour and Life. Remember that you are *Romans*, whoſe » glory it is, to doe, and ſuffer great things. The Fortune of » this battaile will either giue vs peaceable poſſeſſion of that » our fore-fathers haue wonne, or for euer depriue vs of it; » What ſhall become of you, if you be taken, the woefull ex- » perience of your Countrimen, moſt miſerably maſſacred » before your eies may ſufficiently teſtify. Reuenge there- » fore both their wrongs, and your owne, and no doubt, but » the gods themſelues (who neuer leaue cruelty vnpuniſhed) » will aſſiſt you. It is better for vs to die in this action, thē by » yeelding, or flying, to out-liue the praiſe of our owne wor- » thines. But whether wee liue or die, *Britanny* ſhalbe ours; » for if we liue, and recouer it, our poſteritie euer after ſhalbe » able to defend it, and though they ſhould not, yet ſhall our » bones keep continuall poſſeſſion of it. Take courage ther- » fore, & feare not the loud and vaine ſhowts of a diſorde- » red multitude, but boldly giue the aſſault, and keeping » your ſelues cloſe together, purſue the fight, without think- » ing of the ſpoile, till you haue made a full end. For the vi- » ctory once gotten, all things elſe will, of themſelues, fall to » your ſhare.

With theſe, or the like woordes, the old ſouldiers were pricked forward; and *Suetonius* perceiuing it, gaue the

ſignall

signall of Battell. The *Legions* kept the strait, as a place of defence, till the *Britans* had spent their darts: and then they sallied out into the plaine (the *Auxiliaries* and the horsemen making Way,) and pressing into the thickest troopes of the barbarous people, who being vnable to endure the fiercenes of the assault, turned their backs, thinking to saue themselues by flight; But by reason their waggons placed about the plaine had hedged in the passages on all sides, few of them escaped; The residue, as well Women as Men, were put to the sword, and their dead bodies (mingled with the carcases of their Horses and Chariots) were heaped one vpon another. The number of the *Britans* slaine in that battaile was reported to be about 80000. and of the *Romans* about 400. only, and not many moe wounded in the Conflict. This daies seruice was renowmed among the *Romans*, as comparable to those of ancient times in the free Common-wealth. *Voadica* disdayning to fall into hir enemies hands, ended hir life by poyson: and *Pœnius Posthumus* seeing the good successe of the *Fourteenth* and *Twentieth Legions*, (for that by disobaying the Generall, contrary to the Discipline of warre, he had defrauded his own *Legion* of their part of the glory in the action,) for very griefe slew himselfe.

Then *Suetonius* hauing gathered together his dispersed troupes, certaine *Legionary* souldiers and *Cohorts* of *Auxiliaries* were sent him out of *Germany*, to renforce the garrisons, and to make an end of the warre: Some of the *Britans* that either openly resisted, or else stood doubtfully affected, were put to the sword, and some that escaped the sword, died of famine for lacke of corne, (a calamity incident to them, as to a people giuen rather to warre, then husbandry:) The rest found meanes to releeue themselues by the *Romans* prouision; And though some ouertures were made for a Treaty of peace: yet they would not harken thereto, for that they doubted their safety, imagining that their guil-

tines

tines, of the rebellion, had excluded frō al hope of pardon; & they much feared the priuat diſpleaſure of the *Lieutenāt* who (thogh otherwiſe a ſingular man: yet ſeemed to ſhew too much hauty and hard dealing towards them, that yeelded themſelues, and in ſome ſort, vnder pretext of the publike ſeruice, to reuenge his own iniuries. Beſides, *Iulius Clafficianus* (who was ſent to ſucceed *Catus*) being at variance with *Suetonius*, had giuen out, that a new *Lieutenant* was comming, and that he was ſuch a one, as being voyde of malice, or the pride of a Conquerer, would be ready to receiue into fauour, all ſuch as would yeeld themſelues. He wrote letters alſo to *Rome*, ſignifying to the Senate, that they ſhould looke for no end of the warre in *Britannie*, ſo long as *Suetonius* continued the gouernment there, and that the ill ſucceſſe, which he had in the ſeruice, was to be attributed to his owne ill carriage of himſelf, & the good, to the fortune of the common weale. Hereupon *Nero* ſent *Polycletus* a *Libertine* into *Britannie*, to examine, & report the ſtate of the affaires there, and to interpoſe his authority as a meane to reconcile the *Lieutenant*, and the *Procurator*, and to win the *Britans* to imbrace peace. At his landing in the Ile, the *Roman* ſouldiers there ſeemed to feare and reuerence him; and the cauſes of his comming were diuerſly reported at the firſt. But the *Britans* derided him; for (as men being borne free) they knew not, til that time, the power of *Libertines* (men made free) but rather maruailed, that a Captaine, and an armie, which had atchiued ſo great an enterpriſe, could be brought to obey, and yeeld an account of their actions, to a baſe bondſlaue (as they termed him.)

Theſe things, howſoeuer they were cenſured by others, yet they were reported to *Nero*, in ſuch manner, as the reporters thoght might beſt content him; and *Suetonius* after the loſſe of ſome of his ſhipping, was commaunded (the warre being not yet finiſhed) to deliuer vp the army to *Petronius*

tronius Turpilianus, who had a little before giuen ouer his *Conſulſhip*. He was a Man of a ſoft ſpirit, and being a ſtrãger to the *Britans* faults, was the more tractable, & ready to remit thẽ; by which meanes, hauing cõpoſed the former troubles, he deliuered vp his charge to *Trebellius Maximus*, whoſe vnfitneſſe for action, and want of experience in militare matters, gaue the more boldneſſe to the *Britans*, that began now to diſcouer the defects of their Gouernors, hauing learned both to flatter and diſſemble, in conforming themſelues to the preſent times and occaſions, for their aduantage, and for the moſt part, yeelding themſelues to thoſe pleaſures, which Security vſeth to engender, euen in Mindes well diſpoſed by Nature. For *Trebellius*, beſides his inſufficiency, abuſed the authority of his place, to enrich himſelfe, by polling the Common Souldiers, and *Roſcius Cœlius* a Lieutenant of the *Twentieth Legion*, whetted them on againſt him, as againſt his auncient ennemy; ſo that in the end they brake out into hainous termes, the one obiecting matter of crime againſt the other: *Trebellius* charged *Cœlius* with factious behauior. *Cœlius* againe *Trebellius* with beggering the *Legions*; and the diſcord betwixt them grew ſo farre, that *Trebellius* being deſpiſed, as well by the Aydes, as the *Legions* (both of them ſorting themſelues to *Cœlius* his ſide) was in great feare of his life: the danger whereof he ſought to preuent, rather by flying away, then by executing any exemplary Iuſtice vpon offenders. In the meane time, the Souldiers neglecting the ancient diſcipline of Warre, fell to Mutinie and all kind of riot, as men that had rather be doing Ill, then doing Nothing. And afterwards, taking againe his former place, as it were by capitulation, he ſeemed to gouerne, onely at the diſcretion of his ſouldiers, who finding his Weaknes and want of Iudgement to vſe his authority, took vpon them to do what they liſted; and herewith alſo the *Lieutenant* himſelfe ſeemed contented, as being now giuen ouer altogether to a ſlouthfull

full kind of life (terming it peace and quietnes) for which, the ciuill diſcord at that time betweene *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*, miniſtred ſome colour of excuſe. About this time the *Fourteenth Legion* (famous for many great attempts, and growing now more inſolent then the reſt,) was reuoked out of the Ile, to haue beene ſent to the *Streights* about the *Caſpian* ſea, though afterwards vpon intelligence of the reuolt in *Gallia*, and *Spaine*, (when *Iulius Vindex* tooke armes againſt *Nero*) it was retained about the Citty of *Rome* for a ſafegard to thoſe parts. In the turbulent times that enſued *Neroes* death, it tooke part with *Otho* againſt *Vitellius* at the battaile neere *Bebriacum*, where *Otho* was ouerthrowne; and *Vitellius* after the victory, ſuſpecting the ſouldiers of that *Legion*, (as knowing their great ſtomacks, and ill affection towards him) thought it expedient to ioyne to them the *Batauian Cohorts*, that by reaſon of the inueterate hatred betweene thē, they might one oppoſe the other, and himſelf in the meane time remaine more ſecure.

Then *Vectius Bolanus*, a man not much vnlike *Trebellius*, in ſome reſpects, was ſent ouer by *Vitellius*, during the time of whoſe Gouernment, the like diſorders continued ſtill in the Campe, ſauing that *Bolanus*, by the mildenes of his nature (being not touched otherwiſe in his reputation) had purchaſed loue, and good will, inſteed of feare and obedience. In his time diuerſe choiſe men of warre taken out of the *Legions* in *Britannie*, were conducted to *Rome* by *Hordeonius Flaccus* in ayde of *Vitellius*. But when *Veſpaſian* made warre for the Empire, *Bolanus* refuſed to ſend *Vitellius* any ſuccor, by reaſon that the *Britans* finding the *Romans* ſtate encumbred with ciuill diſſention, began to reuolt in diuerſe places of the Ile, and ſome of them alſo ſhewed themſelues openly in fauor of *Veſpaſian*, who had carried himſelfe honorably in *Britannie*, when *Claudius* was there, & ſeemed now, by many ominous predictions, to be a man ſpecially marked for the Empire.

The Death of *Vitellius* quenching the flame of ciuill broyles among the *Romans*, confirmed the possession of the Empire to *Vespasian*, who shewed the care, and respect he had of the Ile of *Britannie*, by employing great captaines and good souldiers there. The *Lieutenantship* was then assigned to *Petilius Cerealis*, a man that had giuen good proofe of his sufficiency in former seruices. Vpon his first entrance into office, he inuaded the Country of the *Brigantes* (the most populous state of the whole Prouince) the greatest part whereof, (after many bloody Battailes) was either conquered, or wasted, and the hope of the *Britans* greatly abated, whenas *Iulius Frontinus* (whose reputation was nothing impaired by the fame of his predecessor) took vpon him the charge, which he afterwards executed with great Commendation, in subduing the strong and warlike nation of the *Silures*, among whom he seemed to fight, not onely with men (whose strength and valor was able to make opposition against his attempts) but also with mountaines, streights, and places of very difficult accesse.

In this estate *Iulius Agricola* (hauing bin trained vp for the most part, in the *British* warre) did find the Prouince, when he as successor to *Cerealis*, entred into the Gouernement. He crossed the narrow Seas about the midst of summer, at which time, as though the season of the yeare had bin past to begin a new Warre, the *Roman* souldiers attended an end of their trauaile, and the *Britans*, a beginning of annoyance to their enemies. The *Ordouices* a little before he landed, had almost cut in peeces a troope of horsemen, that lay vpon their borders. Vpon which attempt, the country being awaked, as desirous of warre, allowed the example, and some stayed to see how the new *Lieutenant* would take it. *Agricola* in the meane time, although the summer was spent, and the Bands lay dispersed in the Prouince (his souldiers hauing full he presumed of rest for that yeare, & diuers officers of the army being of opiniō, that it

were

were better to keep, and aſſure the places ſuſpected, then to make any new attempt:) yet (al this notwithſtãding) he reſolued directly to incounter the danger, & gathering togither the Enſignes of the *Legions*, and ſome few *Auxiliaries* (becauſe the *Ordouices*, durſt not deſcend into indifferent ground) himſelfe firſt of all, (to giue others like courage,) marched vp to begin the aſſault. And hauing in that conflict deſtroyed almoſt the whole Nation of the *Ordouices*, and knowing right wel, that Fame muſt with Inſtance bee followed, (for as the firſt ſhould fall out, ſo the reſt would ſucceede:) he deliberated to conquer the Iland of *Mona*, from the poſſeſſion wherof, *Paulinus* had bin formerly reuoked by the generall rebellion of *Britannie*; But ſhips being then wanting (as in an enterpriſe not intended before) the pollicy and reſoluteneſſe of the Captaine, deuiſed a ſpeedy paſſage. For he commaunded the moſt choiſe of the Aids (to whom all the ſhallows were knowne, and who (after the vſe of their Country) were able to ſwim in their armor if need were) to lay aſide their carriage, and putting ouer at once, ſuddainely to inuade them. VVhich thing ſo amazed the inhabitants (who ſuppoſed that the *Romans* would haue ſtayed a certaine time for ſhippes, and ſuch like prouiſion by Sea,) that now beleeuing, nothing could be hard or inuincible to Men, which came ſo minded to make warre, they humbly intreated for peace, and yeelded the Iland. Thus *Agricola* at his firſt entrance into office (which time others vſed to conſume in vaine oſtentation, or ambitious ſeeking of Ceremonies) entring withall into labors and dangers, became famous indeed, and of great reputation. Howbeit he abuſed not the proſperous proceeding of his affaires, to vanity, or brauing in ſpeeches; for he eſteemed it an Action not worthy the name of a Conqueſt, to keep in order, onely perſons ſubdued before: neither decked he with Laurel his letters of aduertiſement, but by ſtopping and ſuppreſſing the fame of his doings,

hee greatly augmented it, when men began to discourse, vpō what great presumptions of future successe, he should make so light an account of so great Actions, already performed. As touching the Ciuill Gouernment, *Agricola*, knowing how the Prouince stood affected, and beeing taught also by experience of others, that armes auayle little to settle a new conquered state, (if violence and wrongs be permitted,) determined at the first to cut off all causes of warre and rebellion. And beginning at home, he first of all reformed his owne house, (a point of more hardnesse to some men, then to gouerne a Prouince.) He committed no maner of publike affaires to bondman, or *Libertine*. He receiued no souldier neere his person, vpon priuate affection of partiall suiters, nor vpon commendation, or intreaty of *Centurions*, but elected the best, and most seruiceable. He would looke narrowly into all things, yet not exact all things to the vtmost: light faults he would pardon, and the great, seuerely correct, not alwaies punishing offendors, but oft times satisfied with repentance, choosing rather, not to preferre to office, such as were likely to offend, then after the offence, to condemne them. The augmentation of Tribute and corne, he tempered, with equall diuiding of burdens, cutting away those petty extortions, which grieued the *Britans* more then the tribute it self. For the poore people, in former times were constrained, in a mockery, to waite at the barne doors, which were lockt against the, and first to buy corne, & after sell at a low price. Seuerall waies also, & farre distant places had bin assigned them by the Purueyors appointments, for carrying prouisiōs from the neerest standing camps, to those which were farre off, and out of the way, (petty officers in the meane time making a gaine thereof, by sparing some, and charging others at their pleasure) so as that, which lay open to al, & at hand, was turned only to the priuate profit of a few. By repressing these abuses in his first yeere, a good opinion

was

was cõceiued of the peace, which either by the negligence, or partiality of former *Lieutenants* was now no leſſe feared, then warre. In times of ſeruice hee was very painfull, & oft times more aduenturous in his owne perſon, then was fitte for a Generall; for himſelfe would alwayes appoint his ground for pitching the camp, and alſo be the firſt man in prooving the Thickets, Bogges, or any other places of danger, not ſuffring any corners or ſecrete harbors vnſearched, but waſting and ſpoyling euery where with ſuddaine incurſions and aſſaults. Howbeit, when by theſe meanes he had terrified the *Britans*, then would he againe ſpare & forbeare, as hoping thereby to allure them to peace; whervpon many Cities (which before that time ſtoode vppon termes of equality) gaue hoſtages, and meekely ſubmitted themſelues, receiuing garriſons, and permitting the *Romans* to fortifie; a worke perfourmed, with ſuch foreſight and iudgement, as nothing was euer attempted againſt them, while he continued in office, whereas before that time, no new fortified place in all *Britannie* eſcaped vnaſſayled. Thus farre had *Agricola* proceeded, when the newes came, that *Veſpaſian* was dead, and *Titus* his ſonne inueſted in the Empire.

The winter enſuing was ſpent in a moſt profitable, and politike deuiſe. For, whereas the *Britans* were rude, and diſperſed, and therefore prone vpon euery occaſion to Warre, *Agricola*, that he might induce them by pleaſures to quietnes and reſt, exhorted them in priuate, and commaunded his Souldiers to help them to build Temples, Houſes, and Places of publike reſort, commending ſuch as were forward therein, and checking the ſlow and Idle Perſons, ſeeming thereby, to impoſe a kinde of neceſſitie vpon them, while euery man contended to gaine the *Lieutenants* Good-will. Moreouer, the Noble-mens ſonnes he tooke and inſtructed in the Liberall Sciences, preferring the wits of the *Britans* before thoſe of the ſtudents in *Gallia*;

lia; the *Britans* alſo themſelues being now curious to attain the eloquence of the *Roman* Language, whereas they lately reiected the ſpeech. After that, the *Roman* Attire grew to be in account, and the *Gowne* much vſed among them: and ſo by little and little, they proceeded to thoſe common prouocations of vices, namely ſumptuous Galleries, hote baths, and exquiſite banquetings; which things the ignorant people termed ciuility, though it were indeed a badge of their Bondage.

In the third yeere of his Gouernement he diſcouered new Countries, waſting all before him, till he came to the firth of *Taus*. Which thing ſo terrified the Northern *Britans*, that although the *Roman* Army, had bin toyled and wearied with many ſharp Conflicts, yet they durſt not aſſaile it; wherby the *Romans* had the more leiſure to encamp themſelues, and to fortify: wherein *Agricola* was either ſo skilfull, or ſo fortunate, that no Caſtle, planted by him, was either forced by ſtrength, or vppon Conditions ſurrendred, or (as not defenſible) forſaken. In all theſe actions *Agricola* neuer ſought to drawe to himſelfe, the glory of any exploit done by an other, but were he *Centurion*, or of other degree, that had atchiued it, he would faithfully witnes the fact, and yeeld him alwaies his due commendation.

The fourth yeare of his office was ſpent in viewing, and ordering that, which he had ouer-runne: and if the valiant mindes of his ſouldiers, and the glorie of the *Roman* name could haue ſo permitted it, there ſhoulde haue bin no neede to haue ſought other limites of *Britannie*, then were at that time diſcouered. For *Glota* and *Bodotria*, two armes of the two contrary ſeas, ſhooting mightily into the land, are onely diuided a ſunder by a narrow partition of ground, which paſſage was guarded and fortified with garriſons and caſtles; ſo that the *Romans* were now abſolute Lords of all on this ſide, hauing caſt their ennemies, as it were into an other Iland.

The

The fift yeare of the warre, *Agricola* ſubdued with ma-nie and proſperous conflicts, ſtrange nations, before that time vnknowne, and furniſhed with forces that part of *Britannie*, which lieth againſt *Ireland*; And this he did, more for hope of aduantage, then feare of danger. For if *Ireland* might haue bin wonne, (lying (as it doth) betweene *Britanny* and *Spaine*, & cõmodious alſo for *Gallia*) it would aptly haue vnited to the vſe, & profit one of the other, thoſe ſtrongeſt members of the Empire The nature, & faſhions of the *Iriſh*, did not then much differ from the *Britiſh*, but the Ports & hauen Townes in *Ireland* were more knowne and frequented, by reaſon of greater reſort thither of merchants. *Agricola* hauing receiued a Prince of that country, (driuen thence by ciuil diſſention) did vnder colour of curteſy and friendſhip retaine him, till occaſion ſhould ſerue to make vſe of him. It was afterwardes reported, that with one *Legion*, and ſome few Aydes, *Ireland* might then haue bin wonne, and poſſeſſed, and that it would haue bin alſo a meane to haue kept *Britannie* in obedience, if the *Romain* forces had bin planted each where, and libertie, (as it were) cleane baniſhed out of ſight.

Now in the ſummer following, becauſe a generall riſing in armes, of all the further Nations beyond *Bodotria*, was feared, (the paſſages being all beſet with the power of the barbarous people,) he manned a fleet to ſearch the Creeks, & harbors of the ample region beyond it, backing them firſt of all with a Nauy, and with a goodly ſhew bringing warre, both by land and ſea. And oft times it chanced, that the horſemen and footemen, and the ſea-ſouldier met, and made merry in the ſame Camp, each man extolling his owne proweſſe and aduentures, and making their vauntes and compariſons ſouldier-like, ſome of the woods and high mountaines that they had paſſed: others of dangers of Rocks and Tempeſts that they had endured: the one, of the Land and the Ennemy defeated: the other, of the *Ocean*

assayed, and subdued. The *Britans*, (as by the Prisoners it was vnderstood,) were much amazed at the sight of the Nauy, supposing that (the secrets of their Sea, being now disclosed) there remained no refuge for them, if they were ouercome. Whereupon the *Caledonians*, arming with great preparation, and greater Fame, (as the maner is of matters vnknowne) began to assaile their enemies Castles; and some of the *Roman* Captaines (which would seeme to be wise, being (indeed) but Cowards) counselled the Generall to retire on this side *Bodotria*, and rather to depart of his owne accord, then to be driuen backe with shame. In the meane season *Agricola* had knowledge, that the *Britans* meant to diuide themselues, and to giue the onset in seuerall companies; Whereupon lest hee should be enclosed about, and intrapped, either by their multitude, or by their skil in the Passages, he marched also, with his army diuided in three parts: which when it was knowne to the *Caledonians*, they changed aduise on the suddaine, and vniting their forces together, ioyntly assaulted, by night, the *Ninth Legion*, as being of weakest resistance: and hauing slaine the watch, (partly a sleep, and partly amazed with feare) they broke into the Campe, and were fighting within the trenches, when *Agricola* hauing vnderstood by spies, what way the *Britans* had taken, and following their footsteps, commaunded the lightest horsemen, and footemen to play vppon their backs, and to maintaine the skirmish. When the day drew neere, the glittering of the Ensignes dazeled the eyes of the *Britans*, who being daunted with feare of danger on each side, began to draw backe, and the *Romans*, like Men that were now out of perill of their liues, did fight more cheerefully for their honour, freshly assayling the *Britans*, and driuing them to their owne gates, where, in the very straites the Conflict was sharp and cruell, til in the end, the *Britans* were forced to flie, whilest the *Roman* armies seuerally pursued them, contending with a

kind

kind of emulation, the one to ſeeme to haue helped the other, and the other to ſeeme to haue needed no help. Vpon the ſucceſſe of this battel, the *Roman* ſouldiers preſuming, that to their power all things were eaſie, and open, cried to the *General* to leade them into *Caledonia*, that with a courſe of continuall Conqueſts they might find out the vtmoſt limits of *Britannie*. Now ſuch as before the Battell were ſo wary and wiſe in aduenturing, waxed forward enough after the euent, and grew to ſpeake gloriouſly of themſelues; [ſuch is the hard condition of warre; if ought fall out well, all challenge a part: misfortunes commonly are imputed to one.] Contrariwiſe the *Britans* (preſuppoſing that not true Valor, but the cunning of the Generall, by vſing the occaſion, had caried away the Victory,) abated not much their wonted courage, but armed their youth, tranſported their children and wiues into places of ſafety, and ſought, by aſſemblies, and religious rites, to eſtabliſh an aſſociation of the Cities together. And ſo for that yeare, both parties, as enemies, departed incenſed away.

In the beginning of the next ſummer, *Agricola* ſending his Nauy before, (which by ſpoyling in ſundry places, ſhould induce a greater, and more vncertaine terrour,) followed himſelfe with his army by land, hauing drawne to his party ſome of the valianteſt *Britans* (whome by long experience in peace, he had found moſt faithful) and ſo arriued at the Mount *Grampius*, where the *Britans* had lodged themſelues before. For they were not altogether deiected with the vnfortunate euent of the former battel, but now, as Men prepared for all chances, they attended nothing elſe but reuenge, death, or ſeruitude; & being taught at the length that common danger, muſt be repelled with mutuall concord) by leagues and ambaſſages, they had aſſembled the power of all the Cities together, in number aboue thirty thouſand armed Men (the view being taken) beſides a great company of youth (which daily flocked to

them) and lusty old men renowmed in warre, and bearing the badges due to their honour, at what time *Galgacus*, for Vertue, and Birth, the principall Man of all the Leaders, seeing the multitude hotly demaund the battell, is said to haue vsed this or the like speach.

"When I consider the cause of this warre, and our present necessity, I haue reason (me seemes) to presume, that this day and this our generall agreement, will giue a happy beginning to the freedome of the whole Iland. For wee haue all hitherto liued in libertie, and now no land remaineth beyond vs: no sea for our safety: the *Roman* Navy (as you see) surueying, and inuironing our Coasts; so that combat and armes which men of vertue desire for honor, the dastard must also vse for his securtie. The former battailes, which haue with diuerse euents beene fought with the *Romans*, had their refuge & hope resting in our hands. For we, the flower of the *British* Nobility, and seated in the furthest part of the Ile, did neuer yet see the borders of those countries which were brought vnder seruile subiection, (our eyes being still kept vnpolluted, and free from all contagion of tiranny.) Beyond vs is no land: besides vs none are free: vs onely hitherto, this corner, and secret harbour hath defended; You see the vttermost point of the land is laied open, and things, the lesse they haue beene within knowledge, the greater is the glory to atchiue them. But what natiō is there now beyond vs? what els, but water and rocks, and the *Romans* Lords of all within the land, whose intolerable pride in vaine shall you seeke to auoyde by seruice and humble behauiour? They are the robbers of the world, that hauing now left no land to be spoyled, search also the sea. If the enemie be rich, they seeke to win wealth: if poore, they are content to gaine glory to themselues, whom neither the East, nor West can satisfie, as being the onely men of all memory, that seeke out all places, be they wealthy or poore, with like greedy affection. To take

take away by maine force, to kill and spoyle, falsely they
terme Empire and gouernment, when all is waste as a wil-
derneſſe that they call Peace. His children and blood each
man holdeth by nature moſt deere, and yet euen they are
preſſed for ſouldiers, and carried away to be ſlaues, wee
know not where. Our ſiſters & wiues, though they be not
violently forced, as in open hoſtility, yet are they vnder the
color and title of friends, & gueſts, ſhamefully abuſed. Our
goods & ſubſtance they daily draw from vs, rewarding vs
only with ſtripes & indignities. Slaues which are borne to
bondage, are ſold but once, and after are fedde at their ow-
ners expences. But *Britannie* dayly buyeth, dayly feedeth,
and is at charges with hir owne bondage. And as in a pri-
uate retinue, the freſh man and laſt commer is ſcoffed at
by his fellow ſeruaunts: ſo in this olde ſeruitude of the
whole world, they ſeeke onely the deſtruction of vs, as be-
ing the lateſt attempted, and of all others, the moſt vile in
account. We haue no fields to manure, no mines to be dig-
ged, no ports to trade in: and to what purpoſe then ſhould
they keepe vs aliue, conſidering that the manhood, and
fierce courage of the ſubiect doth not much pleaſe the iea-
lous Soueraigne, and this corner (being ſo ſecret and out of
the way) the more ſecurity it yeeldeth to vs, the greater ſuſ-
pition it worketh in them? Seeing therfore all hope of par-
don is paſt, it behoooueth you at the length to ſhew cou-
rage, in defending, and maintaining, both your ſafetie, and
honour. The *Icenians* led by a Woman, fired the *Roman*
Colonie, forced the Caſtles: and had the proſecution of the
Warre beene anſwerable to ſo lucky a beginning, the *Bri-
tans* might then with eaſe haue ſhaken off the Yoke, and
preuented our perill. Wee, as yet, neuer touched, neuer
ſubdued, but borne to be free, not ſlaues to the *Romans*: we
(I ſay) are now to make proofe of our valor, and to ſhew
in this encounter, what maner of Men *Caledonia* hath re-
ſerued in ſtore for hirſelfe. Do you thinke that the *Romans*

" be as valiant in warre, as they are wanton in peace? No,
" you are deceiued. For they are growne famous, not by
" their owne Vertue, but by our iarres, and discord, while
" they make vse of their ennemies faults, to the glory of their
" owne army, composed of most diuerse Nations; and ther-
" fore, as by present prosperity it is holdē together: so doubt-
" lesse (if Fortune frowne on that side) it will soone be dissol-
" ued: vnlesse you suppose the *Gauls* and *Germans*, and (to
" our shame bee it spoken) many of our owne nation (which
" now lend their liues to establish a forreine Vsurper) to be
" led with any true hearted, and faithfull affection. No, it is
" rather with terror and distrust, (weake workers of loue:)
" which if you remoue, then those, which haue made an end
" to feare, will soone begin to hate. All things that may en-
" courage, and giue hope of Victory, are now for vs. The
" *Romans* haue no Wiues to harten them on, if they faint, no
" parents to vpbraid them, if they flie. Most of them haue no
" Countrie at all, or, if they haue, it is some other mens. They
" stand like a sort of featefull Persons trembling, and gazing
" at the strangenesse of the heauen it selfe, at the sea, and
" the woods. And now the heauens (fauouring our cause)
" haue deliuered them, mewed vp (as it were) and fettered
" into our handes. Be not terrified, or dismayed with the
" vaine shew, and glistering of their gold and siluer, which
" of themselues do neither offend, nor defend. And thinke,
" that euen amongst our enemies, we shall find some on our
" side, when the *Britans* shall acknowledge their owne
" cause, the *Gauls* remember their old freedome, and the rest
" of the *Germans* forsake them, as of late the *Vsipians* did.
" What then should wee feare? The Castles are empty, the
" *Colonies* peopled with aged and impotent persons: the free
" Cities discontented, and distract with factions, whilest
" they which are vnder, obey with ill will, and they which do
" gouerne, rule against right. Here is the *Roman Generall*,
" and the army, their *Tributes*, and Mines, with other misc-

ries,

ties, inseparably following such as liue vnder subiection of others; which, whether wee are to endure for euer, or speedilie to reuenge, it lyeth this day in this field to determine. Wherefore beeing now to ioyne battaile, beare in Mind, I beseech you, both your ancestors (which liued in the happy estate of liberty) and your successors, who, (if you faile in this enterprise) shall liue hereafter in perpetuall seruitude. This speach was cheerfully receiued with a song (after their barbarous fashion,) accompanied with confused cries, and acclamations. And as the *Roman Coborti* drew together, and discouered themselues, while some of the boldest pressed forward, the rest put themselues in array: and *Agricola* (albeit his souldiers were glad of that day,) and could scarce with woordes haue bin withholden; yet supposing it fit to say somwhat, he encouraged them in this wise.

Fellow Souldiers, and Companions in armes, your faithfull diligence, and seruice, these eight yeares, so painefully performed, by the Vertue, and fortune of the *Roman* Empire, hath at length conquered *Britannie*. In so many Journeys, so many Battailes, we were of necessity to shew our selues, either valiant against the enemie, or patient and laborious aboue, and against nature it selfe. In al which exploites we haue both of vs so carried our selues hitherto, as neither I desired better Souldiers, nor you, other Captaine. Wee haue exceeded the limits, I, of my predecessors, and you likewise of yours. The end of *Britannie* is now found, not by fame, and report, but wee are with our armes and pauillions really inuested thereof. *Britannie* is found, and subdued. In your marching heretofore, when the passage of Bogges, Mountaines, or Riuers troubled and tired you, how often haue I heard the valiant Souldier say, When will the Enemie present himselfe? When shall wee fight? Loe, now they are put out of their holes, and here they are come. Loe now your wish: Loe here the place for Triall

of

" of your vertue, and all things likely to folow, in a good and
" easie course, if you win: contrary-wise all against you, if you
" loose. For, as to haue gone so much ground, escaped the
" woods and Bogs, & passed ouer so many armes of the sea,
" are honorable testimonies of your forwardnes: so if we fly,
" the aduantages we haue had, wil becom our greatest disad-
" uantage. For we are not so skilfull in the country: we haue
" not the like store of prouision: wee haue onely handes and
" weapons, wherein our hopes, our fortune, and all thinges
" else are included. For mine owne parte, I haue bin long
" since resolued, that to shew our backes, is dishonourable,
" both for Souldier and Generall, and therefore a commen-
" dable death is better, then life with reproch (Surety and
" Honour commonly dwelling together;) Howbeit if aught
" should mis-happen in this enterprise, yet this wil be a glo-
" ry for vs, to haue died euen in the vttermost ende of the
" world, and of Nature. If new Nations and Souldiers vn-
" knowne, were in the field, I would, by the example of o-
" ther Armies, incourage you: But now I require you, only
" to recount your owne victorious exploites, and to aske
" counsell of your owne eies. These are the same men, which
" the last yeere assailed one *Legion* by stealth in the night, &
" were sodainely and (in a manner) by the blastes of your
" mouthes, ouerthrowne. These, of all the other *Britans*,
" haue beene the most nimble in running away, and by that
" meanes, haue escaped the longest aliue. For, as in forrests
" and woods, the strongest beasts are chased away by maine
" force, and the cowardly and fearefull scared, onely by the
" noyse of the Hunters; so the most valiant of the *British* na-
" tion, we haue already dispatched; the rascall herd of da-
" stardly cowards onely remaineth. And loe, we haue now
" at length found them, not as intending to stay, and make
" head against vs, but as last ouertaken, and by extreame
" passion of feare standing like stockes, and presenting oc-
" casion to vs in this place, of a worthy and memorable vi-
ctory.

story. Now therefore, make a short worke of our long „
warrefare, and to almost fiftie yeeres trauaile, let this day „
impose a glorious end. Let each of you shew his valour, „
and approue to your country, that this army of ours could „
neuer iustly be charged, either with protracting the warre, „
for feare, or vpon false pretences, for not accomplishing „
the Conquest. „

As *Agricola* was yet speaking, the souldiers gaue great tokens of their feruent desire to fight, and when he had ended his speech, they ioyfully applauded it, running straitwayes to their weapons, and rushing furiously forwarde: which the *Roman* Generall perceiuing, forthwith ordered his army in this manner. With the *Auxiliarie* footemen, he fortified the middle battell. The horsemen hee placed in wings on both sides. The *Legions* he commaunded to stand behind, before the trench of the campe, to the greater glory of the victory, if it were obtained, without *Roman* bloud, or otherwise for assistance, if the foreward should be distressed. The *Britans* were marshalled on the higher ground, fitly for shew, to terrifie their ennemies: the first troope standing on the plaine, the rest on the ascent of the hill, rising vp as it were by degrees one ouer an other: the middle of the field was filled with chariots, and horsemen, clattering and running round about. Then *Agricola* finding them to exceede him in number, and fearing lest hee should be assailed on the front and flankes, both at one instant, thought it best to display his army in length: and although by that meanes the battell would become disproportionably long, and many aduised him to take in the *Legions*: yet he confidently reiected the counsell, and leauing his horse, auaunced himselfe before the Ensignes on foote. In the first incounter before they ioyned, both sides discharged, and threw their dartes. The *Britans* employing both Arte and Valour, with their great swordes and little targets, defended themselues, and wounded their enimies,

till *Agricola* espying his vantage, appointed three *Batauian Cohorts*, and two of the *Tungrians* to presse forward, and to bring the matter to handy strokes, and dint of sword; which they, by reason of their long seruice, were able readily to performe, to the preiudice of the other side, in regarde of their little bucklers and huge swordes. For, the swords of the *Britans* being weighty, and blunt poynted, were no way fit, either for the close, or open fight. Now, as the *Batauians* beganne to strike them on the faces, with the pikes of their bucklers, and (hauing ouer-borne such as resisted) to march vp to the mountaines: the rest of the *Cohorts* (gathering courage vppon emulation) violently beat downe all about them, and running forward, left some of the *Britans* halfe dead, some wholely vntouched, for haste & desire to haue part of the glory in winning the field. In the meane time, both the chariots of the *Britans* mingled themselues with their ennemies battell of foote-men, and also their troupes of horsemen, (albeit they had lately terrified others:) yet now themselues (beginning to flie) were distressed by the vn-euenesse of the ground, and the thicke rankes of their ennemies, who continued the fight, till the *Britans*, by maine weight of their owne horses, and chariots, were borne downe one vpon an other; (the maisterlesse horses affrighted running vp and downe with the charriots, and many times ouer-bearing their friendes which either mette them, or thwarted their way.

Now the *Britans* (which stoode aloofe from the battel, vpon the top of the hilles, and did at the first (in a maner) disdaine the small number of their ennemies) beganne to come downe, by little and little, and sought to fetch a compasse about the backes of the *Romans*; which were then intraine of winning the field. But *Agricola* suspecting as much, opposed them with certaine Wings of horsemen, purposely retained about him for sodaine dispatches, vpon

all

all chaunces, and repulſed them as fiercely, as they ranne to aſſaile. So the counſell of the *Britans* turning to their owne hurt, the *Roman* Wings were commanded to forſake the battell, and follow the flight. Then were there pittifull ſpectacles to be ſeene; purſuing: wounding: taking priſoners: and then killing ſuch as were taken, as ſoone as others came in the way. Then whole *Regiments* of the *Britans*, (though armed, and moe in number) turned their backes to the fewer: others vnarmed fought their owne death, offring themſelues voluntarily to the ſlaughter. The fields euery where were imbrued with bloud: Euery where weapons lay ſcattered: wounded bodies: mangled limbs: ſome ſlaine outright: ſome halfe dead: ſome yeelding vp the ghoſt: and yet, euen at the laſt gaſpe, ſeeming by their countenances to diſcouer, both anger and valour. Such of the *Britans*, as in flying recouered the woods, ioyned themſelues together againe, and intrapped vnawares, ſome of the *Roman* ſouldiers, that vnaduiſedly followed, not knowing the Countrey; And if *Agricola* had not by his preſence, and direction aſſiſted at need, ſetting about them his moſt expert footmen, (as it were in forme of a *Toyle*) & commaunding ſome of his horſemen to leaue their horſes, (where the paſſage was narrow) and others to enter ſingle, on horſebacke, where the wood was thin) doubtleſſe the *Romans* had taken a blowe by their ouer much boldneſſe. But after that the *Britans* ſawe them againe in good array, and orderly following the chaſe, they fledde, (not in troupes as before, when they attended each other; but vtterly disbanded, ſhunning all company) toward the deſart and farre diſtant places. The darkenes of the night, and ſatiety of bloud, made an ende of the chaſe. Of the *Britans* were then ſlaine about 10000: of the *Romans*, 340, amongſt whom the chiefe man of note was *Aulus Atticus*, the Captaine of a *Cohors*, who vpon a youthfull heate, and through the fierceneſſe of his horſe, was carried

into the midst of his enemies. That night the winners refreshed themselues, taking pleasure in talking of the victory, and diuiding the spoyle. But the *Britans* being vtterly discouraged, crying, and howling (both men and women together) tooke and drew with them their wounded persons: calling the not wounded: forsaking their owne houses, and in despite, setting them on fire: then seeking holes abroad to lurke in, and hauing found them, straightwaies againe forsaking them: some times communicating Counsailes together, and conceiuing some little hope: and then by and by deiected and desperate: some times mooued with pitty at the sight of their kinsfolke, and friendes, and some times stirred with rage, and enuie, in thinking and speaking of their enemies, and (which was most lamentable) some of them, by way of compassion, and mercy, killing their owne children and wiues.

The day following did more plainely discouer the greatnesse of the Victory, by the calamity of the vanquished. Desolation, and silence euery where: the smoke of the houses fired appeared a farre off: no sallies out of the Woods: no stirring in the Mountaines: no man to make resistance, or to meet with the *Roman* spies, who being sent abroad into all Quarters, found by the print of the *Britans* footesteps, that their flight was vncertaine, and that they were no where in companies together, but scattered in diuerse places, and altogether vnable to make any new attempt vppon the sodaine. Wherefore *Agricola*, the summer being now spent in this iourney, and the time past for imployment elsewhere, brought his army, into the borders of the *Horrestians* country, where hauing receiued hostages of the inhabitants, hee commaunded the *Admirall* of his Nauy, (being furnished with souldiers, and sufficient strength for that purpose) to saile about *Britannie*, whither the fame and terror of the *Roman* name was already gone before. Then he planted garrisons vpon the borders betweene

tweene *Glota* and *Bodotria*, and diſpoſed of his footmen & horſemen in their wintering places within the Prouince. Thus after manie Conflicts by the ſpace of about 130. yeares, the vtmoſt limites of *Britannie*, and the Iles of the *Orchades* lying on the North ſide of it, were by the Valor and Induſtry of *Iulius Agricola*, firſt diſcouered, and made knowne to the *Romans*: and the South part of the Ile reduced into a full Prouince, the Gouernement wherof was peculiar to the *Roman* Emperors themſelues, and not at the diſpoſition of the Senate.

This ſtate of affaires here, *Agricola* ſignified by letters (without any amplifying termes) to *Domitian* the Emperor, who after his maner, with a cheerefull countenance, and grieued hart receiued the newes, being inwardly pricked with anger, and diſdaine, to thinke that his late counterfeit *Triumph* of *Germany* (wherein certaine ſlaues bought for money, and attired like captiues of that country,) was had in deriſion, and iuſtly ſcorned abroad; whereas now a true and great victory (ſo many thouſands of enemies beeing ſlaine) was currant in euery mans mouth; Beſides, he eſteemed it as a moſt perillous point in a ſtate, that a priuate mans name ſhould bee exalted, aboue the name of a Prince; and he ſuppoſed, that he had in vaine ſuppreſſed the ſtudy of *Oratory*, and all other politicke arts, if he ſhuld in militare glory be excelled by another; for matters of other kindes (as he ſuppoſed) might more eaſily bee paſſed ouer: but to be a good commaunder of an army, was to be aboue priuate eſtate (that being a vertue peculiar for a Prince.) *Domitian* being tormented with theſe, and the like conceits, and muſing much in his cloſet alone (which was commonly noted, as a ſigne of ſome miſchefe in working) thought it beſt, for the preſent, to cloake and diſſemble his malice, till the heat of *Agricolaes* glory, and the loue of his ſouldiers were ſomewhat abated (for as yet *Agricola* remained in office.) Wherefore he commaunded, that all

the honours of *Triumphal* ornaments, the image *Triumphal*, & what elſe was vſually beſtowed in lieu of *Triumph*, ſhould in moſt ample and honorable termes bee awarded him in Senate: And then ſending a ſucceſſor, hee cauſed a bruit to be ſpred, that the Prouince of *Syria* (which was then void, and ſpecially reſerued for men of great quality) ſhuld be aſſigned to *Agricola*. The common opinion was, that *Domitian* ſending one of his moſt ſecret, and truſtie ſeruants vnto him, ſent withall, the commiſſion of *Lieutenancie* for *Syria*, with priuate inſtructions, that if *Agricola*, at the time of his comming, ſhould be ſtill in *Britannie*, then it ſhould be deliuered: if otherwiſe, it ſhould bee kept back; and that the ſame man meeting *Agricola* as he croſſed the ſeas, without ſpeaking to him, or deliuering his meſſage, returned againe to *Domitian*. Whether this were true, or fained vppon a probable ſurmiſe, as agreeable to the Princes diſpoſition, it could not directly bee affirmed; but in the meane ſeaſon *Agricola* had yeelded vp the Prouince in good and peaceable ſtate vnto *Cneus Trebellius*, or rather (as ſome writers report) to *Saluſtius Lucullus*. And leſt his comming to *Rome* ſhould haue bin noted, by reaſon of the multitude of people, which would haue gone out to ſee, and meete him, hee warily cut off the occaſion of that curteſie, entring the Citty by night, and by night, (as hee was commaunded) came to the pallace, where being admitted to the Princes preſence, and receiued with a ſhort ſalutation, & no further ſpeach, he ſorted himſelfe with other gentlemen of his ranke, carrying himſelfe euer after very temperately and warely in all his actions, as knowing the preſent ſtate of thoſe times, and the dangerous inclination of the Emperour himſelfe, who being (as all other Princes are commonly) more fearefull, and iealous of the good, then the bad, enuied in him thoſe vertues, and that honorable reputation, whereof himſelfe was not capable. Yet, as good deſerts cannot be hid, (true worthines ſhining

euen

men in darkenesse it selfe:) so the retired life which *Agricola* led, did nothing diminish his glory, but rather, like water sprinkled vpon a burning fire, increased, and continued the heat thereof. Diuerse times was hee accused in his absence (which ministred to his ill willers oportunitie of working his disgrace,) and as often in absence was hee acquited, the opinion onely of his good deserts, and no matter of crime giuing the occasion, while such as highly commended him to the Emperor, (seeming his friendes, but being (indeed) the most pestilent kind of ennemies) procured vnder-hand his perill and ruine in the end. Howbeit, the ill successe of the *Roman* armies in diuerse Prouinces at that time, seruing as a foile to set out his honourable actions, drew him perforce into glory, and *Domitian* made pretences of his purpose to employ him, thinking thereby to satisfie the people, who thē complained of the want of good Leaders. But vertue, that neuer continueth long time in prosperous estate, (as beeing the common object of enuy,) hastened the death of *Agricola*, who (as the constant fame went,) was made away by poison, and that not without the Emperors knowledge, and consent. These things concerning *Agricolaes* gouernment in *Britaine*, I haue set downe particularly, as they are reported by *Cornelius Tacitus*, who writ the story of his life, which remaineth to the world, as a perpetuall monument of the doings of the one, and the writings of the other.

Salustius Lucullus succeeding *Agricola*, left little memory of himselfe by doing any thing here, either for that no occasion was then offered to shew himselfe in action, or else, for that the fame of so worthy a predecessor blemished his reputation. For hauing held the office but a short time, he was by commaundement of *Domitian* put to death, for suffering certaine speares of a new fashion, to be called by his owne name. About this time *Arwiragus* a *Britan* by birth, and education, did gouerne (as King) part of the Ile

of

of *Britannie*, the *Romans* accounting it a point of pollicy to permit the *Britans* sometimes to bee ruled by Princes of their owne nation, whose aide, and counsaile, they might vse (vpon occasions) to the pacifying of rebellions, and the establishing of their owne greatnes; For the common people, (whose affection doth oft times sway the fortunes of great Princes) are much more easily brought vnder the obedience of their owne Countrie-men, then of Strangers.

Domitian being slaine, *Nerua Cocceius* succeeded in the Empire: But in what estate the affaires of *Britannie* then stood, the histories of those times make no mention, either for that the Emperor being a man farre striken in yeares, and disposed to ease, and quietnes, employed himselfe rather in reforming abuses at home, then in maintaining war abroad: or else, for that the short continuance of his gouernement did not suffer him, to enter into any great actions in places so remote; For hauing held the Empire litle aboue one yeare, he left the same (by death) to *Vlpius Traianus* a *Spaniard*, whom he had adopted for his vertue and wisedome. In his time, some of the *Britans*, desirous to free themselues from the *Roman* tiranny, entred into rebellion, but wanting meanes to effect, what they had begun, they soone gaue ouer the enterprise. Howbeit *Ælius Adrianus* (who succeeded *Traian* in the Empire) hauing intelligence, that the Northerne *Britans* made incursions into the Prouince, sent ouer *Iulius Seuerus*, to impeach their attempts; but before he could make an end of the warre, he was reuoked, and sent into *Syria*, to suppresse the *Iewish* rebellion; and *Adrian* the Emperour himselfe came with an army into *Britannie*, where hee encountred the barbarous people of the North, recouered such Fortes as they had taken, and forced them to retire to the mountaines, and woods, whither the *Roman* horsemen, without danger, could not pursue them. And then fortifying the bor-

borders of the Prouince, by raiſing a Wall of *Turues*, about 80. miles in length (betweene the mouthes of the riuers *Ituna*, and *Tina*) to defend the inhabitants thereof, from the ſodaine aſſaultes of their ill neighbours, hee returned triumphantly to *Rome*. This exploit wonne reputation to the *Roman* army, and great honor to the Emperour himſelfe. who was then called, the *Reſtorer of Britannie*, and had the ſame inſcription figured for the ſtamp of his Coine.

Now the *Britans* dwelling within the Prouince, ſeemed for the moſt part, patiently to beare the yoke (which Cuſtome had made leſſe paineful) and they obeyed the more willingly, as ſtanding in neede of the *Romans* help, againſt their owne countrymen, whoſe cruelty was now as much feared as in former times the inuaſion of ſtrangers. Wherupon they conformed themſelues to the *Roman* lawes, both in martiall and ciuill affaires, which were then principally directed by *Licinius Priſcus*, who had bin (not long before) employed in the expedition of *Iewry*, and was at that time *Proprator* of *Britannie*.

Antoninus Pius ſucceeded *Adrianus* the Emperour, when (*Lollius Urbicus* being *Lieutenant*) the barbarous people made a roade into the Prouince: but they were beaten backe by the *Roman* forces, that lay vpon the borders: and then was there an other Wall of *Turues* built, by commaundement of the *Lieutenant*, to ſtrengthen thoſe partes, with a double rampire. In the meane time, a new warre was kindled among the *Brigantes* that annoyed ſome of the *Roman* confederates: but by the diſcretion of the Generall, it was quenched, before it came to a flame. For *Lollius Urbicus* vpon the firſt rumour of the reuolt, marched thither with part of the army, leauing the reſt behinde to guarde the borders: and *Seius Saturninus* Admirall of the *Britiſh* Fleete, being well appoynted by Sea, lay vpon the North ſide of the Ile, to defend the

Coasts, and (vpon occasions) to further the land seruice. By this meanes the *Brigantes* were easily reduced to obedience, euen by the presence onely of the *Lieutenant*, who for his good seruice done in *Britannie*, during the shorte time of his employment there, obtained the surname of *Britannicus*.

Antoninus Pius being dead, and *Antoninus Philosophus* possessed of the Empire, *Calphurnius Agricola* was made *Lieutenant* of the Prouince, who at his first entrance into office, vnderstoode of some new tumults raised during the vacation; but partly by pollicie, and partly by force, he in short time appeased them, deseruing thereby great commendation, though oft times the glory of such exploites was attributed to the Emperours themselues, (the labour, and perill in attempting, and (for the most parte) enuy after victory) remaining onely, as rewardes to their ministers.

Now was the time come (namely about one hundred and fifty yeeres after the birth of our *Sauiour*) when Christian Religion (which for many yeeres together, had bin wrapped vp in the darke cloudes of errour and superstition) beganne to discouer it selfe more openly in this Iland, by the meanes of *Lucius* surnamed *Leuer Maur*, who (by permission of the *Roman Lieutenant*) did gouerne as king, a great parte of the Prouince. For it appeareth by the testimony of ancient Writers, that *Britannie* receiued the *Christian* faith, euen in the infancie of the Church, immediately after the death of our *Sauiour Christ*, whose *Apostles* and *Disciples* (according to his commandement) published and dispersed the same in diuerse parts of the world, by preaching and dooing miracles; the fame whereof did sometimes moue heathen Princes, to allow their doctrine, and to fauour the professors thereof, as *Lucius* then did. Besides that, the *Roman Lieutenants* and Gouernours, aswell in *Britannie*, as other Prouinces, did sometimes tole-

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nite the exerciſe of true Religion, which they ſeemed inwardly to approoue, howſoeuer for worldly reſpects they forbare to ſhew themſelues openly in fauour of it. But *Lucius* deſiring to be fully inſtructed in that faith, whereof he meant to be a profeſſor, ſent Letters to *Elutherius* then Biſhop of *Rome*, requiring his direction and aſſiſtaunce, in accompliſhing the good worke, which hee intended. This motion was well liked of the Biſhop, who writing vnto the King, commended his zealous diſpoſition to embrace the trueth, exhorting him to reade the holy ſcriptures with humilitie and reuerence, and out of them (by Gods grace, and aduiſe of faithfull Counſellors) to gather inſtructiõs for the framing of Laws neceſſary for the preſeruation of his eſtate: which Lawes ſo gathered and framed, he did affirme to be much better then the *Imperiall Conſtitutions* of the *Romans*, or any other whatſoeuer: that to make Lawes, and execute Iuſtice, was the proper office of a Prince, who was, vpon earth, the *Vicar* of God himſelfe, and receiued from him, that title and authoritie, to the end hee ſhould vſe the ſame, to the good of the *Catholike Church*, and of the people committed to his charge. Hereupon *Lucius* and his family was baptized, the worſhipping of Images forbidden, the *Flamins* and *Archflamins* Idolatrous Prieſts among the *Britans* expelled, and the Temples dedicated to prophane gods, were conſecrated to the ſeruice of the only true God. Thus Chriſtianitie being here receiued by king *Lucius*, kept on hir courſe vntainted, and without oppoſition, til the time of *Diocleſian* the Emperor, who kindled the fire of the laſt and longeſt perſecution in the Primitiue Church. That ſtorme being ouer-blowne, the ſun-ſhine of true Religion diſplayed itſelfe, till *Arrius* and other heretickes after him diſperſed their impious aſſertions, which (like a contagious diſeaſe, infecting moſt partes of the world) inuaded alſo this our Iland; the inhabitants whereof, as men delighting in

nouelties, were carried hither and thither, with euery blast of vaine doctrine, retaining nothing in matters of Religion for certaine, but their owne vncertain opinions; Howbeit *Britannie* may thinke her selfe, as happy in many other blessings, so most happy in this, that among all the Nations of Christendome, she brought foorth and nourished the first Christian king.

This was the state of the *Church* in *Britannie*, when new troubles began to the disturbance of the Prouince. For the Northerne *Britans* making a breach in the Wall, which *Adrian* the Emperour had built, and finding the borders but weakely garded, entred the Prouince, and surprizing the *Roman* Generall, killed many of his souldiers, and ranging the Countries, wasted and spoyled euery where without resistance, till *Vlpius Marcellus* beeing sent ouer by *Commodus* the Emperor, stayed their fury, and with great difficulty forced them to retire within the Wall. By which means the Prouince being quieted, he applied himselfe to reforme abuses in his Campe, reuiuing the auncient discipline of warre, which had bin for a time discontinued among the *Roman* souldiers, whome long seruice, and many victories had made bold to say, and do oft times more then became them. For *Marcellus* indeede was a man somewhat austere, in reproouing and punishing: otherwise very temperate: diligent in times of warre: not idle in peace: his diet was the same which the common souldier vsed: in quantitie more sparing: for hee would eate no bread, but such as was brought from *Rome*: which he did, to the end hee might auoyde excesse, and take no more then sufficed nature (the staleness of the bread hauing taken away al taste, that might either please the sense, or prouoke the appetite.) The day time, for the most parte, hee spent in viewing his Campe, in training young souldiers, and giuing direction to Officers. In the night he wrote Letters, and made his dispatches into diuers parts

of

of the Prouince, (as occaſion required.) Hee ſlept very little, by reaſon of his thin diet, and much buſineſſe (wherwith he was continually occupied;) for he thought [that hewhich ſlept a whole night together, was no meete man to be either a Counſellor to a Prince, or the Commaunder of an army.] Euery euening he vſed to write inſtructions vpon twelue Tables made of *Linden* tree, which Tables hee deliuered to one of his ſeruants, appoynting him to carry them at ſundry houres of the night, to certaine of his ſouldiers, who thereby ſuppoſing that their Generall was ſtill waking, and not gone to his bed) were the more carefull in keeping the watch, and preuenting ſodaine attempts in the night ſeaſon. He was ſeuere in execution of iuſtice: not to be ledde by fauor: not to be corrupted by bribes. He leuied money, only as neceſſary for the warre, not to enrich himſelfe, or his friends, as other Gouernours in former times had done; for he neuer preferred his owne priuate, before the publike, nor a wealthy eſtate before an honourable reputation. The fame of theſe vertues, as they made him much reſpected both of his owne ſouldiers, and of the *Britans:* ſo they procured Enuy, which alwayes followeth Vertue inſeparably, as a ſhadow doth the body. For *Commodus* the Emperour vnderſtanding, howe *Marcellus* had caried himſelfe in *Britannie*, was much diſpleaſed therewith, and doubting leſt he ſhould grow too great, he thought it beſt to cut him off. But ſome accidents happening in the meane time, to make him change that purpoſe: he onely ſent Letters of diſcharge, and ſo diſmiſſed him of the office.

After his departure, the army hauing beene kept in by hard hand, and finding now the reine let looſe vpon a ſodaine, beganne to be mutinous, and refuſed to acknowledge *Commodus* for their Emperor. Theſe diſorders *Perennius* one of his fauorites tooke vpon him to redreſſe, by diſplacing ſuch perſons as he ſuſpected, and committing

their offices to men of meaner quality: wherewith the *Legions* were much discontented, disdaining, that insteede of *Senators*, and men of *Consular degree*, they shoulde now be gouerned by vpstarts, and base companions. In the heate of these broyles, about fifteene hundred souldiers forsooke the Army, and went to *Rome*, where they exhibited to the Emperour, a Bill of Complaint against *Perennius*, whome they charged, as the chiefe Authour of the dissention in the Army, by bringing in new customes: by exceeding his Commission, and doing things derogatory to the maiesty of the *Roman* Empire. These, and other things (aswell false as true) were obiected against him by the multitude, who for the most parte, dislike such as exercise authority ouer them, and keepe no measure in their affections, either of loue, or hatred. But, (that which touched to the quicke) was an accusation of treason putte vp against him, for conspiring against the life of the Emperour, and in seeking to aduaunce his sonne to the Empire. This poynt was quickely apprehended by *Commodus*, who thought that the suspition of the fact, or the reporte onely to haue intended it, was a sufficient cause of condemnation, howsoeuer the party accused was indeede eyther guilty, or innocent. Herevpon *Perennius* was declared Traitor, and deliuered to the souldiers, who stripped him of his apparrell, whipped him with roddes, and in the end, cruelly murdered him.

Then was *Helnius Pertinax* (a man of meane fortune by birth, as hauing risen from the state of a common souldier to the dignity of a commaunder) sent into *Britannie* to appease the tumults there. He was one of them that *Perennius* had before discharged from bearing office, and sent into *Liguria*, where he was borne. At his first entrance, he attempted by force to suppresse the rebellion of the army, aduenturing so farre in a skirmish, that though he escaped with life: yet was he left among the dead, and suppo-

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ſed to be ſlaine. Afterwardes proceeding with better aduiſe, and ſucceſſe, he compoſed the troubles, ſeuerely puniſhing the principall offenders, and vſing ſome rigor in reuenging his owne iniuries, by which meanes growing odious to the ſouldier, and diſtruſting his owne ſafety, hee made ſute to bee diſcharged of the *Lieutennantſhip*.

Then was the gouernement of the Prouince aſſigned to *Clodius Albinus*, a man of noble birth, very forwarde, and for the moſt part, fortunate in his attempts: for which the Emperor *Commodus*, either vpō feare or fauor, did honor him with the title of a *Ceſar*, though *Albinus* ſeemed vnwilling to accept it; and afterwardes diſcouered his diſpoſition more openly, in affecting the ancient free ſtate. For, vpon a falſe report of the death of *Commodus*, he made an oration to the *Legions* in *Britannie* in fauour of the *Senate*, whoſe gouernement he had commended, and preferred the ſame before that of the Emperors. But *Commodus* being aduertiſed thereof, ſent *Iunius Seuerus* with all ſpeede to take charge of the army. In the meane time, *Albinus* retired himſelfe from affaires til *Commodus* was dead, and *Pertinax* elected Emperor. Then he combined himſelfe with *Didius Iulianus*, whom the ſouldiers (that then made open ſale of the Empire,) had elected after the death of *Pertinax*. But *Iulianus* being infamous for his vices, and failing to performe his promiſe made to the ſouldiers, was in a ſhort time forſaken of them, and afterwardes murdered. Vpon report of *Iulianus* his death, *Septimius Seuerus* (a man adorned with excellēt gifts of nature) was declared Emperor, and for that he feared *Clodius Albinus* (who then had recouered the gouernement of *Britannie*) he made him his Aſſociate in the Empire, and ſent *Heraclianus* to bee *Lieutenant* of the Prouince, which, *Heraclianus* ſoone after reſigned to *Virius Lupus*. But deſire of Souerainety, (that cannot long indure equality of degree) made the one iealous

lous of the other, and the fire of ambition (that had beene smothered for a time) burst out at length into a flame. For *Seuerus*, hauing pacified some tumults in the West part of the world, and after many conflicts subdued *Pescennius Niger* (who vsurped the Empire in the East) pretended the breach of Association, as a colour to make warre vpon *Albinus*, who vnderstanding thereof, transported ouer the seas a mighty army furnished with abundance of vittaile out of the Ile it selfe, which then (through the industry of the inhabitants applying themselues to tillage, and husbandry,) yeelded plenty of graine, and serued the *Romans* as the Garner of the West Empire, out of which they carried yearely great quantities of corne to mainetaine their armies in *Gallia*, and *Germany*. Neere *Lugdunum* in *Gallia*, *Seuerus* encountred with *Albinus*, whose forces were there defeated, and himselfe slaine. Then *Seuerus* made preparation for his voyage into *Britannie*, which by reason of the often change of Gouernors, was growne much out of order; and although the *Britans* vpon intelligence of his purpose, did send ouer Ambassadors, to offer their voluntarie submission: yet the Emperor (in whome neither age nor sickenesse had abated the heate of ambition) would not directly accept thereof, but entertained them with delaies, till all things were in readines for his Expedition: [So earnest a desire he had to passe into the furthest part of *Britanne*, and to purchase the surname of *Britannicus*, as an honourable addition to his other titles.] His two sonnes *Bassianus* (commonly called *Caracalla*) and *Geta*, he tooke with him, as doubting their agreement in his absence. To *Geta* his younger sonne he committed the gouernement of the Prouince here for ciuill causes, wherein *Æmilius Paulus Papinianus* the famous Lawyer, (who as chiefe minister of Iustice vnder him, had his *Tribunall* seate at *Eboracum*) was appointed to assist and direct him. *Seuerus* himselfe, and *Bassianus* with the army marched Northward against the

Meata,

Meate, a people bordering vpon the *Caledonians*, and in league with them. *Virius Lupus* (but a little before) had aſſayed to enter the country by force, when the *Meate*, (ſtanding vpon their owne ſtrength) withſtood him and forced him in the end to purchaſe his peace with money. Then *Seuerus* haſtned into *Caledonia*, where finding the paſſages vncertain and dangerous, by reaſon of the fennes, woods, and deepe waters: he cauſed trees to be felled, and bridges, and cawſeis to be made, for his ſouldiers to march ouer. The *Caledonians* in the meane time ſallied out of the woods, and charged the *Romans*, who were much incombred for want of firme ground, and were oftentimes forced to trace the country, and to diſperſe themſelues in ſeuerall companies, ſeeking places of aduantage: by which meanes a great number of them periſhed, while the barbarous people, (lying in ambuſh, and ſometimes leauing their cattell abroad, as a traine to draw them within danger) ſuddainely ſurpriſed, and killed them, before they could recouer the Campe. This was an vnfortunate iourney to the *Romans*, who beſides the loſſe which they ſuſtained by their ennemies, were afflicted with diſeaſes, by reaſon partly of the vnwholeſome waters which they dranke, and partly of the Contagious aire that infected their ſpirits: yea many times they killed one another; for ſuch as through feebleneſſe could not keepe ranke in marching, were ſlaine by their owne fellows, that they might not be left a prey to their fauage enemies. There died in this enterpriſe about 50000. *Romans*. Yet would not *Seuerus* withdraw his forces thence, till the *Caledonians* made offer to treate of peace, whereto he then harkened the more willingly, for that hee ſaw the difficulty, and (in a manner) impoſſibilitie to bring that Northern part of the Ile, wholy vnder ſubiection, by reaſon of the rockes, mountaines, and mariſhes: as alſo for that the country, being for the moſt part barren, and vnfruitefull, the profite thereof was not deemed, likely

to counteruaile the charge, in getting, and keeping it. The
" conditions were, that the *Caledonians* should first disarme
" themselues, and deliuer part of the country, (lying next the
" Prouince,) into the *Romans* possession, and that from that
" time forwarde, they should attempt nothing against the
" publique peace; which Articles agreed vppon, and assu-
rance taken for the performance, *Seuerus* retired himselfe into the Prouince, leauing his son *Bassianus* to take charge of the army, which after the Emperours departure, grew careleſſe & dissolute: wherewith the Generall seemed nothing displeased, either for that he was by his owne nature inclined to the worst, or else, for that hee hoped thereby to winne the souldiers fauour, as a meane for his aduaunce-ment to the Empire after his fathers death, which hee had oftentimes attempted by indirect practizes to procure.

In the meane while, the *Caledonians* (notwithstanding the late contract) vnderstanding what disorders were in the *Roman* camp, sodainely inuaded it, killing, and taking booties, which they shared with their neighbors of the Prouince, that had assisted them in the enterprise. *Seuerus* being greatly incensed therewith, sent part of the army to pursue the *Caledonians*, expressly commaunding, that they should be all put to the sword, without respect of age, or sex. This sharpe manner of proceeding, quailed the hope of the Northerne *Britans*, who fled into the remote partes of *Caledonia*: and *Seuerus* hauing rather staied, then ended the troubles, spent some time in repairing and enlarging *Adrians* Wall, which he carryed th wart the Iland, from Sea, to Sea, intrenching and fortifying it, with bulwarkes and square towers, in places most conuenient (to giue warning one to another vpon any sodaine assault) for defence of the borders. Then being wearied with age, sickne, and trauaile, hauing his mind also much grieued, with the disloyall and vnnaturall practizes of his sonne *Bassianus*, hee with-

withdrew himſelfe to *Eboracum*, a *Colonie* of the *Romans*, being then the *Station* of the *Sixt Legion*, called *Victrix*, and afterwardes growing to bee one of the chiefe places of account among the *Brigantes*. For theſe *Stations* of the *Roman Legions* were commonly the ſeed-plots of townes, and cities, both in this Ile, and diuerſe other parts of the Empire.

It was reported, that in his paſſage thither, a *Moore* with a *Cypreſſe* garland on his head, did meete and ſalute him by the name of a God: and that, at his entrance into the Cittie, he was by error of the *Sooth-ſayer* (that guided him) brought into the temple of *Bellona*: and that blacke beaſts, being appointed for ſacrifice, did of themſelues folow him to his Pallace. Theſe things, howſoeuer they fell out accidentally: yet they were interpreted as ominous, in reſpect of the euent. And now *Seuerus* perceiuing his death to approach, called before him ſome of his counſellers, and chiefe captaines, vnto whome he is ſaide to haue ſpoken in this manner.

It is now about eighteene yeares, ſince I was firſt declared Emperor by the army in *Pannonia*; during which time, with what care, paine, and trauaile, I haue weilded this vaſt body of the Empire, my continuall employment in warres, both at home and abroad may witneſſe ſufficiently. For, at my firſt entrance, I found the State incumbred euerie where, and now I ſhall leaue it peaceable, euen to the *Britan*. The future proſperity whereof, muſt depend vpon the mutuall agreement of my two ſons. For neither multitude of men, nor abundaunce of treaſure, are ſo auaileable to defend, and mainetaine common-weales, as amity and vnity betweene Gouernors. For, by concord, (we ſee,) that ſmall things grow to greatnes, wheras by diſcord the greateſt fall to ruine. I muſt now leaue to them (as my ſucceſſors,) the *Imperiall Diadem*, that which *Baſſianus* hath ſolong thirſted after, though he know not yet, whether it be

« be a thing to be wished, or feared, as hauing not prooued « the difference betwixt a Prince, and a priuate person. But « ambitious mindes are carried blind-fold, they wot not « whither, in desiring that, which hauing once obtained, « they cā neither keep without great care, nor leaue without « extreme perill, such a thing is Soueraignty, whose greatnes « is not contained in it selfe, but consisteth for the most part « in the opinion, and dependeth vpon the dispositions of o- « ther men. It is vertue only, not glorious titles which makes « men truely great. My selfe at this present may serue for an « example, to shew, vpon what a weak foundation, humane « greatnes is built. For, *I haue bin all things, though now it a-* « *uaile mee nothing*: seeing I must pay my debt to Nature, « and after all my exploits in the East and West parts of the « world, (I) must die (as I may say) out of the world, in a « strange country, if any country may be termed strange to « the *Romans*, who haue now by conquest made all coun- « tries their owne. I exhort you therefore, as you tender the « welfare of the *Roman Empire*, of your owne selues, and « your posterity, be true and faithfull to my sons, as you haue « bin to me, assisting them with your counsell, and perswa- « ding them to mutuall concord, as the maine piller to sup- « port both their estates, and your owne.

When he had vttered these, or the like speeches, hee turned aside, and shortly after yeelded vp the Ghost. *Bas- sianus* being aduertised of his fathers death, practised with the souldiers by bribes, and faire promises, that hee might be declared sole Emperour: whereto when he coulde not perswade them, for the reuerence they bare to his father *Seuerus*, hee made a league with the Northerne *Britans* that then assayled the borders, and returned to *Eboracum*, to meete with *Iulia* the Empresse his mother in lawe, and *Geta* his brother. There he caused the Physitians to be put to death, for not ridding his father sooner out of the way, as he had commanded them. Then he appoynted secret-

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to the ſlaughter, all thoſe, that for their vertue and wiſedome had beene eſteemed, and aduaunced by his father, and all ſuch, as hauing beene Tutours to him and his brother, aduiſed them to mutuall concord. This done, he entred into conſultation about his fathers funeralles, which were ſolemnized by the army with all due rites, according to the auncient cuſtome in times of warre. The aſhes of the dead body being put into a Golden *Urna*, were afterwardes by *Iulia* the Empreſſe (accompanied with the two *Ceſars*) carried to *Rome*, where *Seuerus*, after the vſuall ceremonies, was conſecrated a God.

Now the affaires of *Britannie*, for the ſpace of about fifty yeeres together, were paſſed ouer in ſilence, as beeing, either omitted through the negligence of Writers in that age, or periſhing through the calamitie of the times that enſued. But when *Gallienus* had obtained the Empire, the *Roman* ſtate was much incumbred, and oppreſſed with her owne forces, while certaine Captains (commonly called, the *Thirtie Tyrants*) diſdaining the gouernement of ſo cruel and diſſolute a Prince as *Gallienus*, and being choſen Emperours by the Armies which they commaunded, vſurped abſolute authoritie in diuerſe Prouinces. Among theſe, *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Poſthumus*, *Tetricus*, and *Marius* (as Hiſtories report) ruled in *Britannie*.

In the time of *Aurelianus* the Emperour, *Bonoſus* a *Britan* by birth, and famous for his exceſſe in drincking, inuaded the Empire with *Proculus*, vſurping *Britannie*, *Spaine*, and *Gallia Braccata*. But being afterwards vanquiſhed by *Probus* the Emperour, he hanged himſelfe; wherof there went a common ieſt among the ſouldiers, that [a drinking veſſell, not a man was hanged vp.] Then the Gouernor of the Prouince in *Britannie* being preferred to the Office, by meanes of *Victorinus* a Moore (a man in great fauour with *Probus* the Emperour) beganne to raiſe ſedition among the ſouldiers there; with which practiſe

Probus first acquainted *Victorinus*, who supposing himselfe touched with the imputation of his crime, whome he had recommended and aduaunced to the gouernement there, desired leaue of the Emperor to goe into *Britannie*, where (giuing it out, that he fled thither for safegarde of his life) he was curteously entertained by the Gouernor, whome hee afterwardes murdered secretly in the night, and then speedily returned to *Rome*: hauing, by this deuise, appeased the tumults in the Prouince, and approoued his fidelitie to the Emperour. About this time (as it is reported) certaine *Vandals* and *Burgundians* (which hadde inuaded *Gallia*) being vanquished by *Probus*, were sent into *Britannie*, where they seated themselues, and did afterwards good seruice to the *Romans*, in suppressing rebellious attempts there: though the Emperour then sought to win the *Britans* fauour, rather by clemencie, than rigor: licencing them to plant Vines, and make Wine, and to doe other things, aswel for their pleasure as profit.

Then *Carus* succeeding *Probus* in the Empire, assigned *Britannie*, *Gallia*, *Spaine*, and *Illyricum* to *Carinus*, one of his sonnes, who possessed the same, till *Diocletian* was declared Emperour: in whose time the Prouince was peaceably gouerned, the borders being strongly guarded with forts, and bulwarks against forraine inuasion; but the sea coasts both of *Gallia* and *Britannie*, were much annoied with pirats of *Germany*, against whom *C. Carausius*, as Admirall of the *British* fleet, was sent to sea.

Carausius was a man by birth of low degree, though otherwise worthy of the highest, if his owne ambition, and the guiltinesse of his actions, had not pricked him forward to seeke it by vnlawfull courses, and to boulster out wrong by that authority, which is the ordinary meane appointed to punish it; for in short time he grew very rich, by taking great store of shipping and treasure, which he detayned to his owne vse, without restoring the same to

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the right owners, or rendring account thereof to the Emperors officers. Whereupon *Maximianus Herculeus* (whom *Diocletian* had taken to bee his Associate in the Empyre) being then making warre in *Gallia*, surprised the principall men of *Carausius* his faction at *Gessoriacum*, and gaue commaundement, that *Carausius* himselfe should be made away. But *Carausius* being priuily aduertised thereof, and knowing that then there remayned for him no meane fortune betwixt the life of a Prince, and the death of a Traytour, entered forthwith into actuall rebellion, making his party strong both by Sea and Land, in drawing discontented persons into the action, & alluring the Northern *Britans* to ioyne with him, vpon hope of spoiles to be gotten in the Prouince, which hee then ruled with a kind of absolute authority, and soone after vsurped there the *Imperiall* ornaments.

The *Roman* state being shaken in diuerse places, either by the negligent gouernment, or ambitious attempts of Captaines, and Commaunders of armies, (which gaue occasion to whole nations and Prouinces to reuolt:) The two Emperors declared *Galerius Maximinus* and *Constantius Chlorus* as their assistants by the name of *Cæsars*. Then was *Maximinus* sent into *Persia*, & *Constantius* into *Britannie* against *Carausius*. But before *Constantius* arriued there, *Carausius* was slain by the practise of *C. Alectus* his familiar friend, who then vsurped the empire, as *Carausius* had done before; And vnderstanding that *Constantius* was comming ouer with a great power, he resolued to meet him vpon the Sea, & impeach his landing; for which purpose he lay with his Nauy vpon the coast of the Ile *Vectis*, but his hopes failing him, by reason the *Romans* in a thicke mist did recouer the land, before he could discouer them, hee prepared his forces to encounter them in a set battayle neere the shoare. *Constantius* (hauing determined to try the vtmost of his fortune) to take away from his Souldiers, all hope of returne,

turne, did first sette his shippes on fire, and afterwardes gaue the charge vppon *Alectus*, whose armie was (for the most part) composed of mercenary men, consisting of *Britans*, *Frances*, *Germans*, and diuerse other nations, who fought not al with like courage; for after the first encounter, some of them turned their backes, forsaking their Commaunder, who escaped the fury of the battayle by flight, though he was shortly after taken, and slaine by *Asclepiodatus* the *Praefectus Praetorio*. The *Frances* that serued vnder *Alectus* fled to the Citty of *London*, which (being weakely garded) they rifeled and sacked, though they did not long time enioy the spoyle; for parte of the *Roman* Army comming thither (rather by errour in mistaking their way, then of set purpose) assailed them, tooke away their booties, and put the most part of them to the sword. This victory restored againe to the *Roman* Empire, the Prouince of *Britannie*, which had bin vsurped about seauen yeares by *Carausius*, and three yeares by *Alectus*.

Now began the storme of persecution for *Christian* religion to arise vnder *Diocletian*, who commaunded that throughout the dominions of the Empire, the people should offer sacrifice only to the Gods of the Emperors, and that such as refused so to do, should bee punished with diuerse kinds of cruell death. Herevpon the *Christians*, (being then dispersed in diuerse partes of the world,) not fearing any torments, that tiranny could deuise, made publicke profession of their faith, which they constantly maintained, and willingly sealed with their blood. Amongst many others that died in *Britannie* for that cause, *Alban* an inhabitant of the famous free Cittie *Verulamium*, is specially remembred as the first *British Martyr*, who being yet but a *Pagan*, receiued into his house a *Christian* one of the *Clergy*, that fled from his persecutors: and obseruing his deuotion in watching, fasting, and praying, became in the end a follower of his faith and vertue. And to the end

that

that his guest might escape the hands of those that pursued him, hee put on his garments, offering himselfe to the souldiers, that were sent to search his house, and in that habit was presented to the *Iudge*, before whom he made confession of his faith, reprooving the prophane rites of heathenish superstition. Whereupon hee was committed to the tormentors to be whipped, and persisting in his constancie, was afterwards beheaded on the top of an high hill neere the Cittie. It is reported, that the Tormentor (who was first appointed to behead him) perceiuing a miracle wrought by him, as he went to the place of execution, refused to doe his office, casting the sword out of his hand: and prostrating himselfe at saint *Albans* feete, desired earnestly that he might either die for him, or with him, rather then liue to be the minister of his death; whereupon as a professour of that faith, whereof he had bin long time a persecutor, he dranke of the same cup with saint *Alban*, and in steede of the *Sacramental* signe of *baptisme*, was washed in the bath of his owne blood. It is also written of S. *Alban* his executioner, that his eyes fell out of his head, at the very instant, that the *Martyrs* head (being seuered from the body) fell to the ground; But whether it were the pleasure of God in the first planting of his truth here, to approoue the same by myracles: or whether the incredulitie of that age might giue Writers occasion to report more then the truth, I will not take vpon me to censure. There suffred also in *Legeceſtria* about the same time, and for the same cause *Aaron* and *Iulius* and in sundry other places of this Ile many other, aswel women as men, who gaue testimonie of their patience in praying for their persecutours, and also of their piety by doing things myraculous, which mooued the *Pagan* Princes at the last to cease their tiranny, as being rather wearied with afflicting the *Christians*, the the *Christians* themselues with enduring the affliction; [Such power hath mā being assisted with diuine grace, to

do, and suffer such aboue, and against Nature it selfe. The manner of *Saint Albans* death being engrauen vppon a Marble stone, was set vp within the Citty for a terror to the *Christians*, who afterwardes erected a Temple in that place, which was accounted venerable for many ages, after the destruction of *Verulamium*, out of whose ruines another towne was raised, continuing the name and memory of saint *Alban* the *Martyr*, euen to this day. But *Diocletian* and *Maximianus*, resigning their authority, *Constantius Chlorus* stayed the persecution in *Britannie*, and afterwards went thither himselfe, renforcing the garrisons, both within the Prouince, and vppon the borders, and establishing a generall peace throughout the Iland; which done, hee repaired to *Eboracum*, and there fell sicke of a languishing disease. In the meane time, *Constantinus*, his sonne, (being left at *Rome* as his fathers pledge) escaped from his keepers and houghing the post horses (as he passed the countries) that he might not be ouertaken by pursuite, came at length into *Britannie*, where he was receiued with great ioy by *Constantius* his father, who being then past hope of life, signified in the presence of his counsellors, and captaines,

« that he willingly and gladly embraced his death, since hee
« should leaue a memorable monument of himselfe in the
« life of his sonne, who (hee hoped) should succeede him
« in the gouernement, to protect the innocent from oppres-
« sion, and to wipe away the teares from the *Christians* eyes:
« for therein aboue all other things, hee accounted himselfe
« most happy. Thus died *Constantius Cæsar*, a wise and vertuous Prince, as being not subiect to those vices which commonly accompany the highest fortunes. Hee was first called from the degree of a *Senator* to be a *Cæsar*, not affecting the title for ambition, nor refusing it in respect of the danger. *Helena* his Wife, the mother of *Constantine* the Great, was (as some haue written) the daughter of *Coil* a *British* King, though by others it be otherwise reported.

But

stor of what countrie or kindred soeuer she was, it appeareth by consent of all Writers, that she was a wise and vertuous lady, worthy to be the Wife of such a Husband, and the Mother of such a sonne. She was an earnest professor of *Christianity*, and vppon religious Zeale trauailed to *Ierusalem*, where she found out the Manger, wherein Christ was laid at the time of his birth, and the crosse whereon he was nailed when he suffered. By this Crosse many diseases were cured, and strange miracles wrought (if credit may be giuen to such as haue written thereof.) Her constant desire to aduaunce the *Christian* faith, first mooued *Constantius* hir husband to fauour the *Christians*, who hauing in times of danger hidden themselues (for the most parte) in desarts and dennes, did then come abroad againe into the view of the world, reedified their old Churches, founded New, instituted holy daies to be celebrated in honour of their *Martyrs*, and exercised religion freely and peaceably, as being licensed so to do by publicke Edicts. In all vertues, beseeming a Prince, there were few of his degree, either before his time, or since, that might worthily bee cõpared with *Constantius*, who in the administratiõ of Iustice in ciuill causes carried so euen a hand, as he neuer vsed to make difference of persons, or to be mis-led by affection. He was no wastefull spender of his subiects treasure: no greedy hoorder vp of his owne; for he esteemed money only, as a thing to be vsed, not kept: and he would oft times say, [that it was more behouefull for the common-weale, that the wealth of the land should be dispersed in subiects hãds, then barred vp in Princes coffers.] For glorious apparell and other outward ornaments, (wherewith Princes vse to dazell the eyes of the common people,) hee was more meanely furnished, then beseemed the greatnesse of his estate. His diet was neither curious, nor costly: and when he feasted his friendes, he borowed his siluer vessell, supposing it a thing vnnecessary, to haue any of his owne,

and considering perhaps, that the mettal wherof they were made, might be conuerted to a better vse. In times of warre he was diligent and industrious: yet not vsing force where pollicy might preuaile; for he so much esteemed the life of a man, as he would neuer hazard it in desperate attempts for his owne glory: which wanne him great reputation among his souldiers, who for the loue they bare him, did presently after his death, elect *Constantine* his sonne to succeede him; (other Nations supposing this our Iland most happy, in first seeing him saluted Emperor.)

Then *Constantine* although he seemed at the first vnwilling to accept the *Imperiall* Title, and protested openly against it: yet when the *Senate* had confirmed the election, he tooke vppon him the gouernment of those Prouinces, which his father had held in the West parts, and with an army of *Britans* and other nations, he subdued first *Maxentius*, *Maximians* son then vsurping the Empire in *Italy*, and afterwardes *Licinius* his Associate, who persecuted the professours of *Christianitie* in the East partes of the world. By which meanes *Constantine* alone enioyed the Empire, and for his many and glorious Conquests, was worthily surnamed the *Great*. In his time the forme of gouernement in *Britannie*, both for Ciuill, and Martiall causes, was altered, and new Lawes established. The ciuill gouernement of the Prouince there he committed to *Pacatianus*, who ordered the same, as Deputy to the *Prefectus Pretorio* of *Gallia* (an Officer newly instituted by him.) Then *Constantine* intending to make warre in *Persia*, either to defend, or enlarge the limites of the East Empire, remooued the *Imperiall* seate from *Rome* to the Cittie *Bizantium* (which he reedified, and caused the same to be called of his owne name *Constantinopolis:*) drawing thither the *Legions* in *Germany*, that garded the Frontires of the Westerne Empire, which was thereby layde open to the incursions of those barbarous people that afterwardes

assailed

assisted it, and in the ende, possessed the greatest parte thereof. The borders also of the Prouince in *Britannie* were weakened, by remouing the garrisons there into other Cities and Townes, which being pestered with souldiers (for the most parte vnruly guests) were abandoned by the auncient Inhabitants.

After the death of *Constantine* the Great, *Constantinus* his eldest sonne enioyed *Britannie* as a portion of his dominion, till making some attempts vpon his brother *Constans*, for the enlarging of it, he was by him slaine. Then was the Empire diuided betweene *Constans* and *Constantius* the two yoonger brethren. *Constans* seised vpon the Prouinces, which *Constantinus* his brother had held, and made a voyage into *Britannie*, where *Gratianus* had then charge of the army. This *Gratianus* was surnamed *Funarius*, for that, being a yoong man, hee was able (as it is written of him) to holde a rope in his hand against the force of fiue souldiers) assaying to pull it from him. But *Constans* afterwardes following ill counsell (the ready way to Princes ruines) and giuing himselfe ouer to all kindes of vice, was slaine by *Magnentius Taporus* (the sonne of a *Britan*) who then inuaded the Empire, vsurping the gouernement of *Gallia* and *Britannie*, till (after three yeeres warre with *Constantius*) finding himselfe vnable any longer to vpholde his greatnesse, he murdered himselfe. Then was *Martinus* (an aged man) made Deputy of *Britannie*, when *Paulus* a *Spaniard* surnamed *Catena* (a name well sorting with his nature) was sent thither, as a Commissioner, to enquire of such, as had conspired with *Magnentius*; But vnder colour of his authority, hee called in question, such as were not faulty, either vpon false information, or priuate displeasure, and sometimes to make a gaine of those that were accused; which course *Martinus* the Deputy disliking, intreated him, that such as had beene no actors in the rebellion, might be no partners in punishment with offenders.

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Wherevpon *Paulus* charging the Deputy himselfe, as a fauourer of Traytors, and priuie to the conspiracie, did so far foorth incense *Martinus*, that (being either impatient of reproches, or perhaps not altogether guiltlesse) he strooke at *Paulus* with his sword, intending to haue killed him, but failing in the execution, he presently thrust the sword into his owne body. *Gratianus Funarius*, though hee were not specially bound by othe to the Emperour, as some others had beene: yet for that he had receiued *Magnentius* into his house, was adiudged to forfeit all his goodes: the rest of the accused persons being fettered, and presented to the Emperour, were condemned, some to death, and some to exile.

Now was the gouernement of *Gallia* and *Britannie* assigned to *Iulianus* (commonly called the *Apostata*) whom *Constantius* had made a *Cæsar*. Then *Lupicinus* Maister of the Armour to the Emperor (a good souldier, but notorious for his pride, couetousnesse and cruelty) and after him *Alipius* were sent into *Britannie*, to represse the barbarous people that had inuaded the Prouince there, while *Iulianus* himselfe remained in *Gallia*, not daring to passe into the Ile, both for that he feared the *Gaules*, who were ready (vpon the least occasion) to reuolt, and also doubted the *Alamans*, who were then vppe in Armes. After the death of *Constantius*, *Iulianus* possessing the Empire (which hee had vsurped in the life time of *Constantius*) banished *Palladius* an honourable person into *Britannie*, and sent *Alipius* to repaire the walles of *Ierusalem*, in which attempt, God discouering his wrath, by terrifying the builders with thunder and lightning, and killing many thousand *Iewes*: gaue an apparant testimony, how vaine a thing it is for the power of man to oppose it selfe against his immutable decree.

Iouinian succeeded *Iulianus* in the Empire, which hee held but few moneths. About this time the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*,

Scots, and *Attacots* inuaded the *Roman* Prouince in *Britannie*, (*Valentinianus*, the firſt of that name then gouerning the Empire, together with *Valens* his brother.) Theſe *Picts* and *Scots* (as ſome Writers report) came firſt out of *Scithya*, though it be not improbable, that the *Picts* were very *Britans* themſelues, which being either borne in the Northerne Promontorie of the Ile, or flying thither out of the South partes, entered into confederacie with the *Scots*, and retained, for a time, their auncient name of *Picts*, as being ſo called by the *Romans* (in reſpect of the old cuſtome of painting their bodies) to diſtinguiſh them from the *Britans* then dwelling in the Prouince. Theſe *Picts* increaſing in number, did afterwardes inhabite the Ile of the *Oreades*, & being for the moſt part rude and ſauage (as the *Scots* then were) became in the end to be as it were one people with them, oft times harrowing the borders, and grieuouſly annoying their ciuill countrymen (there being cõmonly no greater hatred, than that which is bred & noriſhed among the people of one Nation, when they are ſeuered each from other, by difference of maners and cuſtomes.) That the *Scots* had their originall from the *Scythes*, their very name may ſeeme, in ſome ſort, to diſcouer; howbeit diuerſe Stories affirme that they trauailed firſt into *Cantabria* in *Spaine*, where (perhappes diſliking that barren ſoyle) they continued not long, but ſayled into *Ireland*, and from thence a great number of them came ouer into *Britannie*, ſeating themſelues in the North parts of the Ile; where being now armed with forraine power, they aſſayled the *Britans* both by ſea and land, killing *Nectaridus* the Admirall of the *Britiſh* Fleete, and ſurpriſing *Bulchobaudes* one of their chiefe Captaines, (the mutinie at that time in the *Romans* Campe giuing them oportunitie and boldeneſſe to doe, in a manner, what they liſted.) For the *Legionary* ſouldiers refuſed to obey their Leaders, and euen the *Deputies* themſelues: complaining of the Em-

perours

perours partialitie, in punishing the least offence of the common souldier, and wincking at the great abuses of Commaunders and Officers. Herevpon a warlike troop of *Alamans* was sent ouer vnder the conduct of *Fraomarius* their king, who exercised there, the authoritie of a *Tribune*. *Severus* the Emperours Steward of housholde, and *Iouinius* were appointed to second him, with certaine *Auxiliarie* forces out of *Gallia*. By this means the fury of those barbarous Nations was somewhat restrained, till the comming of *Theodosius*, who first appeased the mutinie among the souldiers, and afterwardes prosecuted the warre with such good successe, as hee restored the decayed Townes, strengthened the borders: appoynting night watches to be kept there, & in the end recouered the Prouince, which was then contented to admit of Gouernors (as in former times) and as a new conquered state, had a new name giuen it; For in honour of the Emperour *Valentinian*, a part of the Prouince was (for a time) called *Valentia*. Not long after, one *Valentinian* a *Pannonian* entred into a conspiracie there, which being discouered before it was ripe, the perill like to haue ensued, was easily auoyded.

Then *Gratianus* succeeding *Valentinian*, elected *Valentinian* the second his brother, and *Theodosius* (the sonne of *Theodosius* aforenamed) to be his Associates in the Empire, but *Clemens Maximus* gouerning the army in *Britannie* (vpon emulation, and enuy of *Theodosius* glory,) vsurped the Empire there: and hauing transported the strength of the Prouince into *Belgia* (the *German* army being also reuolted to him) he placed his *Imperiall* seate among the *Treuiri*, from whence *Gratianus* intended by force to haue expulsed him, but that as hee marched through *Italy* with his army, the most part of his souldiers forsaking him, he fled to *Lugdunum* in *Gallia*, where he was entrapped by a deuise, and afterwardes slaine by *Andragathius* one of *Maximus* his Captaines. *Maximus* hauing his mind lif-

ted

ted vp with his fortune, created his sonne *Victor* Cæsar, and vsed great cruelty against those, that had serued vnder *Gratianus*. Whereupon *Valentinian* doubting his owne estate, sent *Saint Ambrose* vnto him as an Ambassador to desire peace, which in the end was granted vpon conditions. But *Maximus* ambitiously affecting the sole gouernment, did soone after breake the peace, inuading Italy, and attempting to haue taken *Valentinian* himselfe, who to preuent that danger, fled with his mother vnto *Theodosius* his Associate, (then ruling the East Empire) imploring his aide against *Maximus*, that vsurped Italy, and other parts of his gouernment. Hereupon *Theodosius* prepared an army to encounter *Maximus*, who in Pannonia being ouerthrowne, fled to *Aquileia*, where by the treason of his owne souldiers he was deliuered to *Theodosius*, and presently put to death. This end had *Maximus* after hee had vsurped the Empire fiue yeares. The like calamities also befell his friendes and followers. For *Victor* his sonne was afterwards slaine in *Gallia*, by *Arbogastes*. *Andragathius* the murderer of *Gratian* drowned himselfe, and diuerse of *Maximus* his Captaines being taken, were put to the sword. Howbeit the Britons, by whose power *Maximus* had raised himselfe to that greatnesse, (as men desiring rather to trie new fortunes abroade, then to returne home,) resolued to stay in *Armorica*, where some of their countreymen had remayned (as diuerse Writers affirme) since the conquest of *Gallia*, by *Constantine* the Great. By this meanes, in processe of time, (partly by force, and partly by pollicie,) they grew so strong as they left the possession of a great parte of that Countrey to their posteritie, which being rooted therein by many discents, did afterwardes enioy it entirely, as their owne, (the name of *Britannie* continuing there among them euen to this day.) This victory of *Theodosius* was so much esteemed, as the Senate appoynted by Decree, that yeerely feasts shoulde be celebrated

brated in remembraunce thereof.

Now the *Roman Monarchy* was drawing on to his fatall period, when *Honorius* succeeding *Theodosius* his father in the Westerne Empire, sent *Stilico* into *Britannie*, to defend the Prouince against the *Picts* and *Saxons*, who assailed the *Britans* in most partes of the Ile, woorking vppon the weakenesse of the Prouince, in which (the most choise and able men hauing been from time to time transported, and wasted in the *Roman* warres with other Nations) there remained not then sufficient strength to defend it selfe. The common souldiers there, seeing the state in combustion, tooke vpon them to elect and depose Emperours, first proclaiming *Gratianus* (a free Cittizen of *Rome*; But not long contented with his gouernement, they murdered him, and elected one *Constantin* (for the names sake only) supposing the same to be auspitious. *Constantin* transporting the flower and strength of all *Britannie* into *Gallia*, made many dishonourable leagues (to the preiudice of the Empire,) with the barbarous Nations that then inuaded it, and sent his sonne *Constans* (whom of a *Monke* he had made a *Cæsar*) into *Spaine*, where *Constans* (hauing put to death some principall men, whome he suspected to fauor *Honorius*) committed the gouernement of the Countrey to *Gerontius* his chiefe Captaine, who afterwards slew him at *Vienna* in *Gallia*: and *Constantin* his father hauing runne through many fortunes, was in the end besieged at *Arles*, where he was taken and slaine by the souldiers of *Honorius* the Emperour, who then recouered *Britannie*. *Chrysanthus* (the sonne of *Martianus* a Bishop) a man of *Consular* degree, was then *Deputy* of *Britannie*, where he wan so great reputation for his vertue, and integritie shewed in the gouernement, both of the Church (which was then tainted with the *Grace-lesse* heresie of *Pelagius* the *Briton*) and also of the weale publike of the Prouince: as hee was afterward (though against his will) preferred to the Bi-

shopricke

hopricke of *Constantinople*.

Now the *Romans* (about foure hundred and seauentie yeares after their first entrance into the Ile) gaue ouer the gouernment of *Britannie*, & the *Britans* that had bin many times assailed by their vnciuill neighbors, (consorted with strangers of diuerse Nations) perceiued themselues vnable to make resistance, as in former times; wherevppon they sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, requiring ayde, and promising fealty if the *Romans* would reskew them from the oppression of their ennemies. Then was there a *Legion* sent ouer into the Iland, to expulse the barbarous people out of the Prouince: which being with good successe effected, the *Romans* counselled the *Britans*, for their better defence, to make a stone Wall between *Glota* & *Bodotria*, (the two Armes of the sea that ran into the land,) and so departed thence. But this Wall was made only of *Turues*, and not of *Stone*, as they were directed (the *Britans* hauing not then anie skill in such kind of buildings). By which meanes it serued to little purpose; For the *Scots* and *Pictes* vnderstanding that the *Romans* were gone, passed ouer the water in boates at both endes of the Wall, inuaded the borders of the Prouince, and with maine force bare downe all before them. Wherevpon Ambassadours were sent againe out of *Britanny*, to declare the miserable state of the Prouince, which, without speedy succour, was likely to be lost.

Then was there another *Legion* sent ouer by *Aëtius* the *President* of *Gallia*, vnder the conduct of *Gallio of Rauenna*, to aide the distressed *Britans*; and the *Romans*, (hauing reduced the Prouince to hir former state,) told the *Britans*, that it was not for their ease to take any more such long, costly, and painefull iourneies (themselues also being then assailed by strangers,) and that from thenceforth they should prouide for their owne safety, learne to vse armour and weapons, and to trust to their owne valor. Howbeit the *Romans* (in regard of the good seruice done by the *Britis*

tish nation in former times) builded a Wall of stone, from East to West in the selfe same place, where *Severus* the Emperor had cast his Trench, (the labour and charges of the worke being borne partly by the *Romans*, and partly by the *Britans* themselues.) This Wall contained about eight foot in breadth, and twelue in height, (some reliques thereof remaining to be seene at this day.) Vpon the sea coaste towards the South, they raised bulwarkes (one some what distant from another,) to empeach the ennemies landing in those parts; and this done, they tooke their last farewell: transporting their *Legions into Gallia*, as men resolued to returne hither no more. Assoone as they were gone, the barbarous people (hauing intelligence thereof) presumed, that without any great resistance, they might now enter the Prouince. And thereupon accounting as their owne, whatsoeuer was without the Wall, they gaue an assault to the Wal it selfe, which with *Grapples*, and such like Engins they pulled downe to the ground, while the *Britans* (their wonted courage failing them) ranne awaie, each man laying aside the care of the publicke, and prouiding for himselfe, as the present necessitie would permit. The barbarous ennemie in the meane time pursued, and killed such as resisted.

Some of the *Britans*, beeing driuen out of their owne houses, and possessions, fell to robbing one of another, encreasing their outward troubles with inward tumults, and ciuill dissention; by which meanes a great number of the inhabitants had nothing left to sustaine them, but what they got by hunting, and killing of wilde beastes. Others burying their treasure vnder ground (whereof great store hath bin found in this age) did flie (themselues) either into the countries of the *Silures* and *Ordouices*, or into the West part of the Ile, (where the *Dammonians* then inhabited,) or else to their owne countrimen in *Armorica*, the rest being hemmed in with the sea on the one side, and their ennemies

on the other, ſent to the Emperor for aide: which they could not obtaine, for that the *Gothes* and *Huns* inuading *Gallia* and *Italy*, the greateſt part of the Emperors forces, were drawne thither, for defence of thoſe parts; by which meanes (the State of *Britannie*, now declining with the Empire, and ſhrinking vnder the burden of barbarous oppreſſion) the *Britans* ſent ambaſſadors againe to *Actius* the *Preſident in Gallia*, deſiring him to relieue their neceſſities: declaring withall, that themſelues were the ſmall remnant, which ſuruiued after the ſlaughter of ſo many thouſands, whom either the ſword or the ſea had conſumed, for the barbarous ennemie draue them vpon the ſea, the ſea againe vppon the Ennemie: betweene both which, they ſuffered two kindes of death, as beeing either killed or drowned: that it imported the Maieſty of the *Roman Empire* to protect them, who had ſo many hundred yeares liued vnder their obedience, & were now plunged into the depth of intolerable miſeries; for, beſides the calamities of warre both ciuill and forraigne at one inſtant, they were afflicted with dearth and famine, which forced them to yeeld themſelues to the merciles ennemie. But the poore *Britans* complained in vaine: for the *Romans* either would not, or could not helpe them, without their owne hinderance; Howbeit as extreamities are not of long continuance, ſo ſome of the *Britans* taking courage, and reſoluing rather to die with their country then to abandon it, reſiſted their ennemies, and conſtrained them to returne whence they came; by which meanes the reſt of the *Britans*, many yeares after, liued in peace, and without any annoyance, ſaue that the *Picts* ſometimes in ſmall numbers made incurſions into the land, forreying the borders, and taking booties of cattell there.

After this peace in *Britannie*, there enſued exceeding great plenty of graine, and other fruites of the earth, which the *Britans* abuſed, miſ-ſpending them rioteuſly in glutto-

ny and drunkennesse. Thus dissolute liuing, cruelty, pride, and all kindes of vices (the true causes of the change and ruine of kingdomes and common-weales,) raigned as well among the *Clergy* as the *Laity*, both whom God seuerely punished, by sending among them a greeuous Plague, which in short time wasted so manie of them, as the quicke were scarse sufficient in number, to burie the dead. Howbeit the infection once ceasing; the *Britans* fell to their old disorders, drawing therby a greater plague vpon them, euen to the vtter subuersion, and (in a maner) rooting out of their name & nation, as it afterwardes happened. For the *Scots* and *Picts*, knowing how small a nũber of the *Britans* remained to with-stand their attemptes (the greater and better part being already destroied, either by the sea, the sword, famine, or pestilence,) entred boldlie into the hart of the Ile, spoyled the people of their wealth, burnt their Cities, made themselues slaues, and in short time ouer-ran a great part of the land.

Thus about 500. yeares after the *Romans* first entrance, and 446. after the Birth of our *Sauiour Christ*, the Ile of *Britannie*, (which had bin, not onely a principall member of the Empire, but also, the seate of the Empire it selfe, and the Seminarie of souldiers sent out into most parts of the world) was now in the time of *Theodosius the Yonger* bereaued of the greatest part of hir ancient inhabitants, and left as a prey to barbarous Nations.

FINIS.

BRITISH MUSEUM

To the Reader.

ALthough I haue retained, for the moſt part, the ancient names of Countries, and Inhabitants, as proper to thoſe times, whereof this Booke treateth: yet I haue thought good (for the better vnderſtanding of ſuch, as are not acquainted therewith,) to adde this Table, as a direction, to finde out the moderne names alſo. As for the Ciuill and Militare Officers, with other thinges then in vſe among the Romans: they are well enough knowne to ſuch, as are but meanely conuerſant in their Stories, and therefore I ſuppoſe it vnneceſſary to make any expoſition thereof in this place.

Ancalites. The inhabitants of the Hundred of *Henly* in *Oxfordſhire*

Antona. Suppoſed to be the riuer *Anſona*, now called *Nen*, vppon which *Northampton* is ſeated.

Aquileia. An ancient citty in that part of *Italy* called *Forum Iulij*.

Armorica. Britannie in *France*.

Aſturia. A Country in *Spaine* betweene *Gallicia* and *Portugal*.

Attacotti. A barbarous people, whoſe originall is not certainely knowne.

Atrebatij. The inhabitants of *Barkeſhire*.

Batani. The *Hollanders*.

Belgæ. The inhabitants betweene the riuers of *Seine*, and *Scelde*, and alſo the inhabitants of *Somerſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire* & *Hamſhire* in *England*.

Bibroci. The inhabitants of the Hundred of *Bray* in *Barkeſhire*.

Bodotria. Edenborough Frith in *Scotland*.

Boduni, or *Dobuni.* The inhabitants of *Glocesterſhire* & *Oxfordſhire*.

Brigantes. The inhabitants of *Yorkeſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, the *Biſhopricke* of *Durham*, *Weſtmerland*, and *Cumberland*.

Britanny

Britannia, the Ile. The kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*.

Byzantium. The Citie *Constantinople* in *Thrace*.

Caledonij. The inhabitants of the Northpart of *Scotland*.

Camaludunum. *Maldon* in *Essex*.

Cantabri. The inhabitants of *Biscay* in *Spaine*.

Cantium. *Kent*.

Cangi. The inhabitants of a part of *Cheshire* (as it is coniectured.)

Casij. The inhabitants of the Hundred of *Caishow* in *Hartfordshire*.

Cattieuchlani. The inhabitants of *Buckinghamshire*, *Bedfordshire*, and *Hartfordshire*.

Ceni magni. *Vide Iceni*.

Cimbri. The inhabitants of *Germany* and *France*.

Coritani. The inhabitants of the Counties of *Northampton*, *Leycester*, *Rutland*, *Lincolne*, *Nottingham*, and *Derby*.

Cornauij. The inhabitants of the Counties of *Warwicke*, *Worcester*, *Stafford*, *Salop*, and *Chester*.

Daumonij. The inhabitants of *Cornewall* and *Deuonshire*.

Deua. *Chester*, the *Station* of the *Legion* called *Victrix vicesima*.

Dobuni. *Vide Boduni*.

Dyrrachium. The Citty *Durace* in that parte of *Macedonia*, which lieth on the *Adriaticke* Sea.

Eboracum. The Citty of *Yorke*. (The *Station* of the *Legion* called *Sexta victrix*.)

Franci. The Frenchmen that came out of *Franconia* in *Germany*, and seated themselues in *France*.

Gallia. In ancient times dinided into 3 parts, *Togata*, *Comata*, *Braccata*.

1 *Togata*. The Country lying betweene the *Alpes*, and the riuer *Rubicon* in *Italy*.

2 *Comata*. Was diuided into *Belgica*, *Celtica*, and *Aquitania*.

Belgica contained the Countries betweene the riuers *Seine* and *Scelde*.

Celtica. The Countries betweene the riuers *Garonne* and *Seine*.

Aquitania. The Prouince of *Guyenne* in *France*, bounding vpon the *Ocean* sea, and extending it selfe to the *Pyrenes*.

3 *Braccata*. Being diuided from *Italy*, and the *Alpes* by the riuer *Varus*, contained the Countries of *Narbon*, *Prouence* and *Dauphine*.

Gesforiacum. *Bolleyn* in *Picardy*.

Glota. The *Frith* of *Dumbreston* in *Scotland*.

Grampius mons. *Grantz-bane* in *Scotland*.

Horreij. The inhabitants of *Eskedale* in *Scotland* (as it is coniectured.)

Hybernia. *Ireland*.

Iceni. The inhabitants of *Suffolke*, *Norfolke*, *Cambridgeshire*, and *Huntingtonshire*.

Iccius Portus. The Hauen at *Callice* in *Picardy*.

Illyricum. The country of *Slauonia*. In ancient time *Dalmatia*, *Mosia*, and *Pannonia* were comprised vnder the name of *Illyricum*.

Isca. *Caerleon* in *Wales*: the *Station* of the *Legion* called *Secunda Augusta*.

Isca Danmoniorum. Excester.

Iscalis. *Yuelcester* in *Somersetshire*.

Isurium. *Aldborgh* in *Yorkeshire*.

Ituna. The riuer *Eden* in *Cumberland*.

Lagecium, vel *Lagoolium.* *Castleford* neere *Pontfret* in *Yorkeshire*.

Lectodorum. *Bedford*.

Legecestria. The Towne of *Leicester*.

Liguria. That part of *Italy* which lieth betweene the *Apennine*, and the *Tuscane* Sea.

Lindum. *Lincolne*.

Luguuallum. *Carlile*.

Massilia. *Marseilles* in *Prouence* in *France*.

Meata. The inhabitants of the hither part of *Scotland*.

Mona. The Ile of *Anglesey*.

Moridunum. *Caermarden*.

Morini. The Counties of *Guines*, and *Bolonois* in *Picardy*.

Numidia. The kingdome of *Thunis*, or *Barbary*.

Orcades. The Iles of *Orkney*, about thirtie in number, lying on the North of *Scotland*.

Ordouices. The inhabitants of *North-Wales*.

Ostia. A citie built by *Ancus Martius* the *Roman* king in the mouth of the riuer *Tyber*.

Ottadini. The inhabitants of *Northumberland*.

Pannonia. *Hungary*.

Regni populi. The inhabitants of *Surry*, *Sussex*, and the sea coastes of *Hantshire*.

Sabrina. The riuer *Seuerne*.

Segontiaci. The inhabitants of part of *Hantshire*.

Silures. The inhabitants of *South-Wales*.

Sitomagus. *Thetford* in *Norffolke*.

Taus. The riuer *Twede*.

Thamisis. The riuer *Thames*.

Tina. The riuer *Tine* in *Northumberland*.

Treueri. People of *France* betwixt *Belgia* and the riuer *Mosella*.

Trinobantes. The inhabitants of *Middlesex* and *Essex*.

Trisantonis portus. *Southampton*.

Trutulensis Portus. *Richborow* neere *Sandwich* in *Kent*.

Tunnocellum. *Tinmouth.*

Vecta. The Ile of *Wight.*

Kalendia. The country lying northward between [illegible] and the Trench neere *Edenbrough* (now called *Oran*[illegible]) was the utmost limit of the *Romans* gouernement in this [illegible]

Vallum. The *Picts* Wall.

Venta Belgarum. *Winchester.*

Venta Icenorum. *Caster* neere *Norwich.*

Verulamium (*Municipium.*) An ancient [illegible] in *Hartfordshire.*

Finis.

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THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

The first Booke.

Declaring the estate of the Ile of Britannie vnder the Roman Empire.

(*.*)

LONDON
Printed by Valentine Simmes, for Iohn Barnes, dwelling in Fleete-streete, at the signe of the Great Turke.
1602.

The Preface.

I haue oft times wiſhed, that (among ſo many large Volumes, and Abridgements of our Engliſh Chronicles, as are nowe extant) wee might haue one continued Hiſtory collected out of approued Writers, and digeſted in ſuch maner, as the Reader might neither be tired with the length of fabulous, and extranagant diſcourſes: nor left vnſatisfied in any materiall pointes, or circumſtances worth his knowledge. And although Truth in her nakednesſe, and Simplicitie ought for her owne ſake to be deſired, and preferred aboue all other things: yet we ſee that the nature of man (affecting, for the moſt part, rather pleaſure than profite) doth more willingly embrace ſuch things as delight the ſenſe, than ſuch as confirme the iudgement: though to ſatisfie both the one and the other, is accounted in matters of this kind, the Marke, at which the beſt Writers haue aymed, as being the very tipe of Perfection it ſelfe. In which reſpect, I am perſwaded, that ſuch a Worke would be the better accepted, if the Writer thereof ſhould obſerue that Method *which hath beene vſed in former times, by the beſt Hiſtoriographers among the* Greekes, *and* Romans, *who, to ſhew their owne wits, & to refreſh their Readers, deuiſed ſet Speeches, and Orations, to enterlace with their true Hiſtories, as*

things both allowable and commendable, ſo farre forth as they were grounded vpon probable coniecturs, fitting the Speakers, and voyde of abſurditie. Which vſe hath bin held alſo in our owne Stories, by ſome of our Countreymen, in writing vpon particular ſubiects which they haue choſen, as moſt agreeable to their owne himmours, and miniſtring beſt matter of diſcourſe. Among all which of this kinde, that excellent Story of Richard *the third, written by ſir* Thomas Moore *(if my iudgement faile mee not) may worthily challenge the firſt place.*

To write much in commendation of Hiſtories, were (I ſuppoſe) but to ſpend time, as the Sophiſter *did in prayſing of* Hercules, *whom no man (in his right wittes) euer diſprayſed: and the Proems of* Hiſtorical *Bookes are already filled with diſcourſes of the profitable vſe that may be made of them, conſidering that Examples (as the moſt familiar and pleaſing kinde of learning) are found, by common experience, to be much more auaileable to the reforming of manners, then bare rules and precepts. If then, the knowledge of Hiſtories in generall be ſo commodious & commendable a thing, as learned men in all ages haue eſteemed it: I make no doubt, but it will be eaſely confeſſed, that there is no Hiſtorie ſo fitte for Engliſhmen, as the very Hiſtorie of* England; *in which (if the affection I beare to my native Country deceiue me not) there are many things (beſides the neceſſary vſe thereof) very well worthy to be remembred, and obſerued: howſoeuer our Chronicles haue bin a long time condemned for barbarous, as wanting that purity of language, wherewith the Hiſtories of many other Nations are adorned. And indeede I could wiſh, that they were ſo ſet forth, as our Gentlemen of* England *might take*

no leſſe pleaſure in reading the ſame, then they doe now in reading the Engliſh tranſlations of the Roman, French, *&* Italian *Hiſtories, which, though they may be delightfull, and in ſome kindes profitable: yet is not the knowledge of them altogether ſo pertinent, and proper to vs, as of the other, except we would deſire to ſeeme Citizens of an other Countrey, and ſtrangers in our owne.*

And although to ſome perhappes it may ſeeme a labour vnneceſſary, to beginne with ſuch auncient things as were done heere by the Romans, *ſpecially conſidering the difference of time it ſelfe (which in euery age bringeth forth diuerſe effects) and the diſpoſitions of men, that for the moſt part take leſſe pleaſure therein, then in the relation of the occurrents of their owne, or later times: yet I thinke it fitte for order ſake, there to beginne, whence we haue the firſt certaine direction to proceede: and I doubt not but ſome good vſe alſo may be made, euen of thoſe auncient thinges (howſoeuer they may be accounted impertinent to vs) eyther by imitation, or by way of compariſon.*

As for the ſtorie of Brute, *from his firſt arriuall heere, vntill the comming of the* Romans, *diuerſe Writers holde it ſuſpected, reputing it (for good cauſes) rather a Poeticall Fiction, then a true Hiſtory, as namely,* Iohannes de Whethamſted Abbot *of Saint* Albans, *a man of great iudgement (who liued about the yeere of Chriſt 1449.) &* Gulielmus Nubrigenſis, *with others, as well moderne as auncient; who haue in like maner deliuered their cenſures thereof. Beſides,* Venerable Bede *makes no mention of it at all, but begins his Hiſtory with the* Romans *entrance into the Iland. Howbeit, ſeeing it hath beene for ſo long time generally receiued, I will not preſume, (knowing the*

power

power of preſcription in matters of leſſe continuance) abſolutely to contradict it: though for mine owne opinion I ſuppoſe it to be a matter of more antiquitie, then veritie. I write not this to detract from thoſe, that haue heeretofore written thereof, in their Bookes of our Engliſh Chronicles (continued to theſe times,) as namely Stowe, Hollinſhed, Grafton, *and others, that haue employed themſelues, and their trauaile in ſearching out Antiquities, and memorable things touching the affaires of this Realme. That which they haue done already, deſerueth thankes, and good acceptance, in that of a good meaning they haue done their endeuours. But, as in the building of an houſe, diuerſe workemen are to be vſed for diuerſe purpoſes: namely, ſome to prouide timber, and rough-hew it, others to carue and poliſh it: ſo I thinke it meete that ſome man of knowledge and iudgement requiſite for the accompliſhing of ſuch a worke, ſhould aduiſedly peruſe our Engliſh Chronicles, (the ſubſtance and matter (though layde vppe in diuerſe publicke & priuate Storehouſes) being already prouided,) and thereof to frame an Hiſtorie, in ſuch manner, as the Reader might reape both pleaſure and profit thereby. Howbeit, I ſee ſmall likelihoode that any thing wil be done herein, while ſuch as are beſt able to performe it, are content to looke on, ſtraining courteſie who ſhould beginne: ſome refuſing the labour, in reſpect eyther of the labour it ſelfe, or of the ſmall recompence that followeth it: conſidering withall, the careleſneſſe, and thankeleſneſſe of this Age, wherein the beſt Workes (contriued with many yeares trauaile) are, for the moſt part, eyther ſcarcely vouchſafed the reading, or elſe read with a full ſtomacke, and a kinde of loathing.*

Others

Others there be, that preferre ſilence as the ſafeſt way, in that it is free from cenſure, & danger, which a man may eaſily incurre by writing: whereas, for doing nothing, no man is either blamed, or conſtrained to render an account. For there be many that thinke they cannot ſhew their wits ſo wel in any thing, as in finding faults with other mēs doings, (themſelues in the meane time doing nothing.) And though ſometimes there may be iuſt cauſes of reproofe: yet many times we ſee that exceptions are taken, eyther vppon diſlike of the Writer, or enuy of the thing it ſelfe deſeruing commendation, or (as it falleth out many times) vpon ignorance (the profeſſed enemie of Art and Induſtry) which cauſeth ſome to condemne, what they vnderſtand not. For, the learned and induſtrious ſort of men, as they are beſt able to iudge what is done wel, or ill: ſo they are moſt ſparing in reprouing other mens Labours, or making bad conſtructions of good meanings. To the cenſure of theſe men, as of indifferent Iudges, I do freely ſubmit my ſelfe: not doubting, but ſuch as haue trauailed heeretofore in matters of this kinde (being alſo experienced in other) will confeſſe it a worke of no leſſe trouble, to alter, and repaire an olde decayed houſe, with the ſame timber, then to erect a new one at the builders pleaſure.

Againe, there be ſome that will not ſticke to call in queſtion the truth of all Hiſtories, affirming them to be vaine and fabulous: both for that they are, for the moſt parte, grounded vpon coniectures, & other mens reports (which are more likely to be falſe than true) and alſo, for that the Writers themſelues, as well as the Reporters, might be partially affected: whereto I anſwere, that many things are left to the Writers diſcretion, and that it is impoſsible for

any man (though neuer ſo great a louer of truth) to relate truely all particular matters of circumſtance, but that hee may faile in many things, and yet carefully obſerue the principall points: which we are ſo farre forth to allowe, as we finde them not vnlikely, nor improbable. Otherwiſe, in detracting from the credite of ancient Hiſtories, eyther vpon vncertaine ſurmiſes, or by reiecting probable coniectures, we ſhould depriue the world of a very great portion of humane learning.

For mine owne parte, although I might be diſcouraged in reſpect both of theſe inconueniences (which haply wiſer men foreſee and auoyde) and alſo in regard of my ſelfe (being amongſt many others, the moſt inſufficient to perform the taske, as a man wanting, both iudgement, and health of body, to go thorow with ſo weighty & laborious a work:) yet haue I vndertaken to make a proofe (as you ſee) in ſetting downe the ſtate of this Ile vnder the Romans *gouernment, according to the report of* Cæſar, Tacitus, Dio Caſſius, *and other approoued Writers of our owne, out of whom I haue collected ſo much as I thought neceſſary to be remembred touching this Subiect, and digeſted the ſame into the forme of an Hiſtory: and namely, out of the Engliſh tranſlation of* Tacitus *vpon the life of* Iulius Agricola, *I haue taken and appropriated to the context of this Treatiſe, not only the ſubſtance, but the Orations theſelues of* Galgacus *and* Agricola, *with other things there mentioned (as a choiſe peece of marble already poliſhed by an exquiſite workman, and fit for a much fairer building then I was likely to reare vpon this olde and imperfect foundation.) The phraſe thereof onely in ſome few places I haue (I hope without offence) altered, faſhioning it to our owne*

tongue,

tongue, as taking my selfe not necessarily tied to so precise an obseruation in the exposition of words, as is required in a Translator. And I thought it better to set these things downe in this maner, & to acknowledge whence I had the, then by marring them, to make them seeme mine owne. For I haue euer esteemed it a signe of an illiberall nature, either to detract in any sorte from an other mans labour, or to affect the praise of an other mans merite. Touching the affaires of the Empire, although I haue interposed them, here and there throughout this Booke: yet haue I touched them sparingly, taking onely so much, and no more then might well serue to explane the matter in hand.

It may be, some fault will be found, that in the Stile I haue not kept one and the same course from the beginning to the end, but that I haue stayed too long on some pointes, and passed ouer others too briefly: that many things are handled confusedly, and abruptly, without due obseruation of circumstances required in a well composed Historie. Indeede I must confesse, that herein the successe hath not answered my expectation in the beginning. Howbeit (if I may be mine owne iudge) I ought to be excused by such as shall consider, first the Subiect it selfe, which is (for the most part) more proper for Annals, then for a continued Historie: next, the variety of Authors, like so many diuerse soiles, out of which these fruites are collected: then the imperfect relations of former times, wherein the affaires of this Ile for many yeeres together, were either passed ouer in silence by Writers, or else but darkly and imperfectly reported: & lastly, the often change of Emperors & Gouernors here during the space of aboue 400. yeeres. By reason of which inconueniences, I was forced in diuerse

places of this Booke (specially towards the latter end) to set downe a bare collection of the actions themselues, without circumstances: wherein, if the method seeme differing from the former, let the cause thereof be imputed, partely to my loue of truth, in deliuering things, as I receiued them from others, and partly to my desire to containe the Worke within some reasonable proportion: which otherwise in dilating the actes of euery particular Gouernour, would haue growne to a farre greater Volume, and my selfe thereby should haue ran into that errour, which I dislike, and wish to be reformed.

Others perhappes will alleadge, that I haue done some wrong to Antiquitie, in disguising it with moderne termes & phrases, affirming those of ancient time to be more proper for our Story, as being more free from the mixture of other Languages, than the Dialect now current among vs. But herein, as I dislike affection of forraine and new coyned words, when we haue good, and sufficient store of our owne: so, considering that our Language, of it selfe, is none of the fruitfullest: I see no reason that it shoulde be barred from communicating with the Latin and French words, which are now (in a maner) become Denizens among vs, to the enriching, and polishing of our English tong. And although I esteeme Antiquitie (as the preseruer of things worthie to be remembred for the benefit of Posterity:) yet I must confesse, that I am not so stiffely bent to maintaine it, as some kind of men, that had rather dwell in old smoky houses (for that their ancestors built them) then to alter the fashion of them for conueniency and decency. Touching the ancient names of the Inhabitants of this Ile, I haue set them downe (as congruent to those times whereof I write) according to

the ancient Roman *Historiographers. In other matters of Antiquity, I have, for the most parte, followed Maister* Camden, *whose learning and iudgement therein I doe specially reuerence. What paiues he hath already taken, and with what good successe, in the* Chorographicall *part, the present time (to his deserued praise, both at home and abroade) can openly testifie: and succeeding Ages, to the honour of our Nation, shall for euer heereafter remember. For by his meanes this flourishing Iland, which heretofore was scarce knowne to her owne Inhabitants, is nowe both knowne and had in estimation among Strangers, who take pleasure to reade and vnderstand, what he hath written thereof. And were the* Historical *part as exactly set forth in English as his* Description *in* Latin: *I suppose that few Natiōs might then match vs for an History, wheras now, (in that one poynt) we come short of all others, that are not meerely barbarous. For like vnnaturall children, altogether carelesse of those dueties we owe to that place, where we first receiued our being, we spend our time eyther in catching flies with* Domitian, *or else in decking forraine Stories with our best English furniture: suffering our Owne, in the meanc time, to sit in ragges, to the blemish of our Countrey, which (hauing beene heeretofore famous for Armes, and honoured with the presence and residence of many worthy Emperours, Kings, and Captaines: and at this day renowmed both for* Armes *and* Artes, *vnder the happy gouernement of a* Virgin-Queene *admired in all parts of the world) can yet hardly finde any man in so long a time of ciuilitie, and peace, to take pittie on her, and to attire her like her selfe.*

If this my attempt may giue occasion to the Gentleman

before named, or some others, (that are best able to effect it) either to reforme that which I haue already written as an Introduction to our English Historie, or else, to beginne a new, and proceede with the continuance of it to these times: I shall then haue my desire, and thinke my paines taken in this Worke (howsoeuer it may be censured) not be-
stowed in vaine.

Philomathes.

¶ The *Lieutenants* and *Deputies* in *Britannie* vnder the *Roman* Emperors.

Roman Emperors.	*Lieutenants in Britannie.*
Iulius Cæſar. Oct: Cæſ. Auguſtus. Tiberius. Caius Caligula.	After *Iulius Cæſar* his arriuall here, til the time of *Claudius*, the *Romans* had no *Lieutenants* in *Britanny*.
Claudius Brit.	*Aulus Plautius* (vnder whome *Veſpaſian* ſerued with *Titus* his ſonne.) Oſtorius Scapula. A. Didius Gallus Anitus.
Nero.	Veranius. Suetonius Paulinus. Petronius Turpilianus. Trebellius Maximus.
Galba.	Trebellius Maximus.
Otho.	Trebellius Maximus.
Vitellius.	Vectius Bolanus.
Veſpaſianus.	Petilius Cerealis. Iulius Frontinus. Iulius Agricola.
Titus.	Iulius Agricola.
Domitianus.	Iulius Agricola. Saluſtius Lucullus. *
Nerua.	
Traianus.	
Adrianus Brit.	Iulius Seuerus. Priſcus Licinius.
Antoninus Pius.	Lollius Vrbicus Br.
Antoninus Philoſophus.	Calphurnius Agricola.
Commodus.	Vlpius Marcellus. Heluius Pertinax. ¶ Clodius Albinus Iunius Seuerus.
Heluius Pertinax	Clodius Albinus.
Didius Iulianus.	Clodius Albinus. ¶
Sept: Seuerus. Brit.	Heraclianus. Virius Lupus.

Ant:

Roman Emperors.	*Deputies in Britannie.*
Ant: Baſſianus Caracalla.	From the time of *Caracalla*, to *Conſtantin* the *Great*, *viz.* for the ſpace of one hundred yeares, or thereabout, the names of *Lieutenants* are not extant, neither is there any mention at all made in Hiſtories, of the affaires in *Britannie*, vntill the time of *Gallienus*, who held the Empire about fiftie yeares after *Caracalla*.
Popilius Macrinus.	
Varus Heliogabalus.	
Alexander Seuerus.	
Maximinus.	
Gordianus. (1 | 2 | 3)	
Philippus Arabs.	
Decius.	
Valerianus.	
Gallienus.	
Flauius Claudius.	
Valer. Aurelianus.	
Tacitus.	
Valer. Probus.	
Carus Narbonenſis.	
Diocleſianus.	
Maximianus Herc. Cæſ.	
Galerius Maximinus Cæſ.	
Fl. Conſtantius Chlorus Cæſ.	
Conſtantinus Magnus.	Pacatianus Dep.
Conſtantinus.	
Conſtans.	
Conſtantius.	Martinus. Alipius.
Iulianus Apoſtata.	
Iouinianus.	
Valentinianus primus.	
Gratianus.	
Valentinianus ſecundus	
Honorius.	Chryſanthus. Victorinus.
Theodoſius iunior	

Ihaue (*both in this Table, and in the Booke following*) *vſed the words* Lieutenant *inſteede of* Legatus, *or* Proprætor, *as hee is commonly called in the* Roman *Stories.*

In the time of Conſtantin *the Great, the chiefe Officer was called* Vicarius, *as being* Deputy *vnder the* Præfectus Prætorio *of* Gallia: *and in the declining of the Empire, diuerſe Officers* (*both for ciuill and militare cauſes*) *were inſtituted by diuers names, and emploied in this Ile, ſtough* (*for that their authority cannot be preciſely ſet downe by any Records of approoued Hiſtories*) *I forbeare to place them here among* Lieutenants *and* Deputies.

Ihaue drawne lines onely againſt the names of diuerſe Emperors (*inſteede of Blanks*) *to ſupply the defect of* Lieutenants *and* Deputies, *whoſe names are not knowne.*

THE FIRST Booke of the Historie of *England.*

Declaring the estate of the Ile of Britanny vnder the Roman Empire.

IT is recorded by the most true and ancient of all Histories, that the Iles of the *Gentiles*, after the vniuersal flood, were first diuided and inhabited, by the posterite of *Iapher*; from whose eldest sonne called *Gomer*, the *Cimbri ani* (as Writers reporte) deriued their name and discent, imparting the same to the *Gauls*, and *Germans*, and consequently, to the Inhabitants of this Ile, as being originally discended from the *Gauls*, that came ouer hither at the first, either vpon a naturall desire, (which men commonly haue to discouer places vnknowne) or to auoyde the assaults of other Nations encroching vpon them; or happly to disburden their natiue soyle, by seeking new habitations abroad. And this opinion of the *Britans* first comming out of *Gallia* seemeth the more probable, in regarde, both of the situation

of this Iland, in neerenesse to that continent, and also of the vniformitie in language, religion, and policie, betweene the most ancient *Gauls*, and *Britans*.

Touching the name of *Britannie*, with the Gouernours and state thereof before the *Romans* arriuall, as they are things, not to haue bin neglected, if any certaine knowledge of them had bin left vs, by approued testimonies of former ages: so I think it not now requisite, therein, either to recite the different coniectures of other Men, or of my selfe, constātly to affirm any thing, aswel for that those matters haue bin already handled at large by our moderne Writers, as also, for that I suppose, in aymīg at such antique Originals (there being but one truth amidst many errors) a man may much more easily shoot wide, than hit the marke. I purpose therefore (omitting *Etymologies* of words, and varietie of opinions concerning the first inhabitants and their doings) to take the name and affaires of this Ile, in such sort, as they were first known to the *Romans* in the time of *Iulius Cæsar*, when the *Roman* state, (which had tryed all kindes of gouernement, as namely that of *Kings*, then *Consuls*, *Decemuirs*, and *Tribunes*) began to be vsurped by a few, and soone after submitted it selfe to one. For about the foure and fiftieth yeare before the birth of our Sauiour Christ, *Cæsar* being then Gouernor of *Gallia* for the Senate and people of *Rome*, and hauing brought some part of that country vnder obedience, intended a voyage with an army into *Britannie*, partly, vpon pretence of reuenge (for that the *Britans* had diuerse times ayded the *Gauls* in their warres against the *Romans*) and partly, to satisfie himselfe with the sight of the Iland, and the knowledge of the inhabitants, and their customes; whereto he might perhaps be the more readily inducted, by Reason of his owne naturall inclination to vndertake great and difficult attempts, and with the increase of his owne glory, to enlarge the Limits of the *Roman* Empire, vnto which at that time the soueraignetie of the whole

world

world was, by diuine prouidence, allotted. And to this end he thought good to be firſt informed of the nature of the people, and of ſuch hauens in the Ile, as were moſt commodious to receiue any ſhipping that ſhould come thither; which things were in a manner vnknowne to the *Gauls*, by reaſon the Ilanders ſuffered none to haue acceſſe to them, but merchants onely, neither knew, euen they, any other places, than the ſea coaſts, and thoſe partes of the Ile, that confronted the continent of *Gallia*. Wherevpon, *Cæſar* ſuppoſing it neceſſary to make ſom diſcouery, before he aduẽtured himſelfe in the action, ſent *Caius Voluſenus* in a long "boat, with inſtructions, to inquire of the quantity of the "Iland, of the condition of the inhabitants, of their man-"ner of making warre, of their gouernement in peace, and "what places were fitteſt for landing. After which diſpatch made, himſelfe, with all his forces (which were newly returned from making warre beyond the *Rhene*) marched into the country of the *Morini* (from whence was the ſhorteſt cutte into *Britannie*:) for there he had appointed his ſhipping to meet him.

In the meane time, his purpoſe being known to the *Britans*, by report of the Marchants, (that traded with them,) diuerſe States of the Ile, (either fearing the greatneſſe of the *Roman* power, or affecting innouation for ſome priuate reſpects) ſent ouer Ambaſſadors, who promiſed, in their names, to deliuer hoſtages, for aſſurance of their obediẽce to the people of *Rome*; but *Cæſar*, though he was fully reſolued to enter the Iland, yet he curteouſly entertained their offer, exhorting them to continue in that good minde, as a meane to draw on the reſt, in following the example of their ſubmiſſion. For the better affecting wherof, he appointed *Comius* the chiefe Gouernor of the *Atrebates*, (as a man, whoſe wiſdome, and faith he had tried, and whom he knew to be reſpected of the *Britans*) to accompanie the Ambaſſadors in their returne, giuing him in charge to goe

to as many Cities, as would permitte him acceſſe; and to perſwade the Rulers to ſubmit themſelues, as ſome of their Nation had already done: and further, to let them knowe, that himſelfe, with all conuenient ſpeede, would come thither. The Princes of the Ile, being as yet vnacquainted with any ciuill kindes of gouernement, maintained quarrells and factions among themſelues, whereby, while one ſought to offend another, and to enlarge his owne parte, by encroching vpon his neighbours (not obſerуing, that what they gained in particular one of another, they loſt all together in the generall reckoning) they made an open paſſage in the end, for the *Romans* to conquer the whole (a thing common to thē with other Nations, who haue found the like effects to proceede from the like cauſes.) For, the moſt part of the *Britans*, in thoſe daies, delighted in warre, neglecting husbandry, or happly not then knowing the vſe of it. Their maner of liuing, and cuſtomes, were much like to thoſe of the inhabitants of *Gallia*. Their diet was ſuch as Nature yeelded of her ſelfe, without the induſtrie of man: for thogh they had great ſtore of cattel, yet they liued (ſpecially in the in-land cuntries) with milk. It was held among them, as a thing vnlawful, to eate of a hare, a henne, or a gooſe, and yet they noriſhed them all for recreations ſake. Their apparrell was made of the skinnes of beaſtes, though their bodies were (for the moſt parte) naked and ſtained with woad, which gaue them a blewiſh colour, and (as they ſuppoſed) made their aſpect terrible to their enemies in battaile. Their houſes were compact of ſtakes, reedes, and boughes of trees, faſtned together in a round circle. They had tenne or twelue wiues a peece common among them, though the iſſue were alwayes accounted his, that firſt married the mother being a mayden. They were, in ſtature, taller than the *Gauls*, in wit, more ſimple, as being leſſe ciuill.

By this time, *Volуſenus*, (who durſt not ſet foote on land

to

to hazard himſelfe amongſt the barbarous Iſlanders) returned to *Cæſar* (namely, the fift day after his ſetting forth) and made relation of ſuch things as he had ſeene, & heard, by report, in rouing vp and downe the coaſt in view of the Iland. *Cæſar* hauing compoſed ſome tumults in the hither parte of *Gallia*, that he might leaue no enemy behinde his backe to annoy him in his abſence, purſued the enterpriſe of *Britannie*, hauing, to that end, prepared a Nauie, which conſiſted of about foure ſcore ſhippes of burden (a number ſufficient, as he thought, for the tranſportation of two *Legions*) beſides his long boats, wherein the *Quæſtor*, the Lieutenants, and other officers of the Campe were to be imbarqued. There were alſo eighteene ſhips of burden (that lay winde bound about eight miles from the Port) appoynted to waft ouer the horſemen. *P. Sulpitius Rufus* a Lieutenant of a *Legion*, was commanded to keepe the hauen it ſelfe with ſuch power, as was thought ſufficient. Theſe things being thus ordered, and a good parte of the ſummer now ſpent, *Cæſar* put out to ſea about the third watch of the night, hauing giuen direction, that the horſemen ſhould embarke in the vpper hauen, and follow him; wherein while they were ſomewhat ſlacke, *Cæſar* with his ſhipping, about the fourth houre of the day, arriued vpon the coaſt of *Britannie*, where hee behelde the Cliffes poſſeſſed with a multitude of barbarous people, rudely armed, and ready to make reſiſtance.

The nature of the place was ſuch, as by reaſon of the ſteepe hils encloſing the ſea on each ſide in a narrow ſtrait, it gaue great aduantage to the *Britans* in caſting down their darts vpon their enemies vnderneath them. *Cæſar* finding this place vnfit for landing his forces, put off from the ſhore, and caſt anchor, expecting the reſt of his Fleet, and in the meane time calling a councell of the *Lieutenants*, and *Tribunes* of the ſouldiers, he declared vnto them, what hee had vnderſtood by *Voluſenus*, and directed what he would

haue done; warning them, that (as the ſtate of the warre, & ſpecially the ſea-ſeruice required) they would be ready to weigh anchor, and to remoue, to, and fro (vpon occaſions) at a beck, and in an inſtant.

This done, hauing aduantage, both of wind, and tide, he ſet forward with his Nauy, about foure Leagues from that place, and then lay at anchor in view of the open, and plaine ſhore. But the Ilanders, vpon intelligence of the *Romans* purpoſe, had ſent thither (before *Cæſars* comming) a company of horſe men and chariots called *Eſſeda*, (which they then vſed in their warres) and following afterwardes with the reſt of their forces, empeached their ennemies from landing, whoſe ſhippes, by reaſon of their huge bulkes (drawing much water) could not come neere to the ſhoare, ſo as the *Roman* ſouldiers were thereby enforced in places vnknowne (their bodies being charged with their armor) to leape into the water, and incounter the *Britans*, who aſſayled them nimbly with their dartes, and draue their horſes and charriots, with maine force, vpon them: The *Romans* being therewith terrified, as men vnacquainted with that kind of fight, fayled much of the woonted courage, which they had ſhewed in their former land-ſeruices; and *Cæſar* perceiuing it, cauſed the long boates (which ſeemed more ſtrange to the barbarous people, and were more ſeruiceable, by reaſon of their ſwiftneſſe in motion) to put off, by little and little, from the greater ſhips, and to rowe towardes the ſhoare, from whence they might more eaſily charge the *Britans*, with their arrowes, ſlinges, and other warrelike engins, which (being then vnknowne to the Ilanders, as alſo the faſhion of the ſhippes, and motion of the oares in the long boates, hauing ſtricken them with feare and amazement) cauſed them to make a ſtand, and afterwardes to drawe backe alittle.

But the *Roman* ſouldiers making no haſte to purſue them, by reaſon of the water, which they ſuſpected in ſome places

places to be deepe and dangerous: the Standard-bearer of the Eagle for the tenth legion, praying that his attempt might proue ſucceſſefull to the legion, cryed out with a lowde voyce in this manner.

" Fellow ſouldiers, leape out of your boats, and follow " me, except you meane to betray your Standard to the e- " nemy: For mine owne part, I meane to diſcharge the du- tie I owe to the Common-wealth, and to my Generall. This ſaid, he caſt himſelfe into the water, and carried the Standard boldly againſt the *Britans*. Whereupon the ſouldiers exhorting one another to follow the Enſigne, what fortune ſoeuer might befall, with common conſent leapt out of their long boates, one ſeconding another; and ſo wading through the water, at length got to ſhore, where began a ſharpe and bloody fight on both ſides; The *Romans* were much incumbred, by reaſon, that they coulde neither keep their ranks, nor fight vpon firme ground, nor folow their owne Standards, for euery one as hee came on land, ranne confuſedlie, to that which was next him.

Some of the *Britans* (who knew the flattes, and ſhallow places, eſpying the *Romanes*, as they came ſingle out of their ſhippes) pricked forward their horſes, and ſet vpon them, ouerlaying them with number, and finding them vnwealdy and vnready to make any great reſiſtance, by reaſon of the depth of the water, and weight of their armor, while the greater part of the barbarous people with their darts aſſailed them fiercely vpon the ſhore: which *Caſar* perceiuing, commaunded the Cock-boates, and Skowts to be manned with Souldiers, whom he ſent in all haſte to reſcue their fellowes. There was a ſouldier of *Caſars* company called *Caſſius Scæua*, who, with ſome other of the ſame band, was carried, in a ſmall boat, vnto a rocke, which the ebbing ſea, in that place, had made acceſſible. The *Britans* eſpying them, made thitherward; the reſt of the *Romans* eſcaping, *Scæua* alone was left vpon the rocke, to withſtand

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the furie of the enraged multitude, that aſſailed him with their dartes, which he receiued vpon his ſheild, and thruſt at them with his ſpeare, till it was broken, and his helmet and ſhield loſt; Then being tired with extreame toile, and dangerouſly wounded, he betooke himſelfe to flight, and (carrying two light harneſſes on his backe) with much difficulty recouered *Cæſars* Tent, where he craued pardon, for making ſo bold an attempt without commandement of his Generall. *Cæſar* did both remit the offence, and reward the offender, by beſtowing vpon him the office of a *Centurion*. This was that *Scæua*, who afterwards gaue good cauſe to haue his name remembred in the *Roman* ſtory for the memorable ſeruice he did to *Cæſar* in the time of the ciuill warres betweene him and *Pompey* at the battaile neere *Dyrrachium*. The *Romans* hauing at length got footing on drie land, gaue a freſh charge vpon the *Britans*, and in the end enforced them to turne their backs, and leaue the ſhore, though they could not purſue them farre into the Land for want of horſemen (*Cæſars* accuſtomed fortune failing him in this one accident.) The *Britans*, after this ouerthrow, aſſembling themſelues together (vpon conſultation had amongſt them) ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, promiſing to deliuer in pledges or to doe whatſoeuer elſe hee would commaund them. With theſe Ambaſſadors came *Comius* of *Arras*, whom *Cæſar* had ſent before out of *Gallia* into *Britannie*, where, hauing deliuered the Meſſage he had then in charge, he was apprehended, committed to priſon, and now after the battaile releaſed. The chiefe States of the *Britans* ſeeking to excuſe their attempts, laid the blame vpon the multitude, who being the greater number, and wilfully bent to take armes, could neither by perſwaſion, nor authority be reſtrained: and they pretended their owne ignorance, as being a free people, and not experienced in the cuſtomes of other Nations. *Cæſar*, although he reproued them for making warre in that maner (conſidering that

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of their own accord they had ſent ambaſſadors to him (before his arriuall in *Britannie*) to deſire peace: yet was content to pardon them, vpon deliuery of pledges, whereof ſome he receiued preſently, and the reſt being to come frō remote places, he appointed to be ſent in by a certaine day. So the *Britans* were diſmiſſed, to returne into their countries, & in the meane time there came diuerſe Princes from other parts of the Ile to ſubmit themſelues and their Cities to *Ceſar*. The fourth day after the *Romans* landing, the ſhips before mentioned, appointed for tranſportation of *Ceſars* horſemen, hauing a fauourable gale of wind, put out to the ſea from the vpper hauen, and approching neere the Iland, in view of the *Roman* Campe, a ſodaine ſtorme aroſe, and ſcattered them, driuing ſome of them backe againe to the Port from whence they came, and ſome others vpon the lower part of the Iland weſtward, where, after they had caſt anchor, (their keeles being almoſt ouerwhelmed with the waues,) they were carried by violence of the ſtorme in the night into the maine, and with very great perill recouered a harbor in the cōtinent. The ſame night the Moone was at the full, at which time commonly the Sea in thoſe partes is much troubled, and ouerfloweth the bankes by reaſon of the high tides, (a matter vnknowne to the *Romans*) inſomuch as the long boates, which tranſported the army, then lying vpon the ſhore, were filled with the flood, and the ſhippes of burden that lay at anchor, were beaten with the ſtorme, and ſplit in peeces, the greater number of them periſhing in the water, and the reſt being made altogither vnſeruiceable, (their anchors loſt, and tacklings broken;) Wherewith the *Romans* were much perplexed, for that they neither had any other ſhippes to tranſport them backe againe, nor any meanes to repaire, what the tempeſt had ruined: and *Ceſar* had formerly reſolued to winter in *Gallia*, by reaſon hee was vnfurniſhed of vittaile to maintaine the army during the winter ſeaſon. Which beeing

knowne to the chiefe States of the *Britans*, (who had metto togither about the accompliſhment of ſuch things, as *Caſar* had commaunded them) they ſuppoſed a fit oportunitie was offered them to reuolt, while the *Romans* wanted horſemen, ſhipping, and all maner of prouiſions; the number of their forces ſeeming alſo the leſſe, in reſpect of the ſmall circuit of their Campe, (*Caſar* hauing tranſported his *Legions* without any carriages, or ſuch like warrelike neceſſaries.) Wherevpon they concluded to keepe them from vittaile, and to prolong the warre, till winter; aſſuring themſelues, that if they could either vanquiſh thē *Romans*, or barre them from returning thence, there would no forreine Nation after them aduenture to ſet foote againe in *Britannie*. Herevpon they entred into a ſecond conſpiracy, conueying themſelues by ſtealth out of the *Roman* Campe, and gathering company to them priuily from diuerſe parts, to make head againſt their ennemies. *Caſar*, albeit he were ignorant of the *Britans* purpoſe, yet ſuppoſing that the eſtate of his army, and the loſſe of his ſhippes were knowne to them, and conſidering that they had broken day with him, in detaining their pledges contrary to the contract, he ſuſpected that, which afterwardes proued true. And therefore to prouide remedies againſt all chaunces, he cauſed Corne to be brought dayly out of the fields into his Campe, and ſuch ſhippes as could not be made fit for ſeruice, were vſed to repaire the reſt, and ſuch other things, as were wanting therto, he appointed to be brought out of the continent; by which meanes, and the dilligence of his ſouldiers, with the loſſe of xij. ſhippes, the reſt of his Nauy was made able to beare ſaile, and brooke the ſeas againe. While theſe things were in doing, the *Seauenth Legion*, (according to cuſtome) was ſent forth a forraging, till which time, the *Britans* reuolt was not certainly knowne, for that ſome of them remained a broad in the fieldes, and others came ordinarilie into the *Roman* Camp. The Warders in

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the Station before the Campe, gaue notice to *Ceſar*, that the ſame way which the *Legion* wēt, there appeared a greater duſt, then was wont to be ſeene. *Ceſar* miſtruſting ſome new practiſe of the *Britans*, commaunded the *Cohorts* (that kept warde) to march thither, appointing two others to ſupply their roomes, and the reſt of his forces to arme themſelues with ſpeede and follow him. When he approched neere the place deſcryed, he perceiued his ſouldiers to be ouercharged with the *Britans*, who aſſailed them on all ſides with their darts. For the *Britans* hauing conueyed their Corne from all other parts (this only excepted) and ſuſpecting that the *Romans* would come thither, they did lie in the woods all night, to intercept them, and finding them diſperſed, and vnready, they ſodainely ſet vppon them, (as they were reaping) killing a few of them, and diſordering the reſt with their horſes and chariots. The manner of their fighting in chariots was thus; Firſt, they vſed to ride round about their enimies forces, caſting their darts, where they ſaw aduantage, and oftentimes with the fierceneſſe of their horſes, and whirling of their chariot wheeles, they broke their ennemies ranks, and being gotten in among the troopes of horſemen, they would leape out of their chariots, and fight on foot. The chariot-driuers in the meane time withdrew themſelues by little and little out of the battaile, and placed themſelues in ſuch ſort, as their maiſters (beeing ouer-matched by their enemies) might redily recouer their chariots, ſo that in their fighting they performed the offices, both of horſemen in ſwiftnes of motion, and alſo of footmen in keeping their ground; and by daily vſe, and exerciſe, they were growne ſo expert in mannaging their horſes, as driuing them forcibly downe a ſteepe hill, they were able to ſtay or turne them in the mid way, yea, to runne along the beame, to ſtand firme vpon the yoke, and to returne thence ſpeedily into their chariots againe.

The *Romans* being much troubled with this new kind of fight, *Cæsar* came in good time to the rescue. For vpon his approch, the *Britans* gaue ouer the skirmish, yet keeping still their ground as maisters of the field, and the *Romans* for feare, retired themselues to their Generall, who thought it no poynt of wisedome, to hazard his forces in a place vnknowne; but hauing stayed there a while, conducted the *Legions* backe againe to his Campe, and in the meane time, the *Britans* that were in the field, dispersed themselues and shruncke away. After this there were for many dayes together, continuall tempests, which kept the *Romans* in their Campe, and hindered the *Britans* from making any open attempt, though they sent messengers secretly into diuerse partes of the Ile, publishing abroade, what a small number of their enemies was left, what great hope there was of a rich booty, and what apparant likelihoode of recouering their liberty, if they could driue the *Romans* from their Campe. Hereupon in short time they assembled a great number of horse and footemen, to put this their purpose in execution; *Cæsar* vnderstanding thereof, made preparation for defence, hauing gotten also about thirtie horsemen (which *Comius* of *Arras* brought ouer with him) whose seruice he supposed very necessary, if the *Britans* (according to their woonted maner) should seeke to saue themselues by flight. The *Legions* were placed in battaile array before his Campe. Then the *Britans* beganne the fight, which had not long continued when they gaue backe, and fled, the *Romanes* pursuing them as farre as they durst, killing many whome they ouertooke, and burning houses and townes as they returned to their Campe. The same day the *Britans* sent Ambassadours to *Cæsar*, desiring peace, which after long sute, was granted, vppon condition, that the number of the pledges (which was before imposed) should be now doubled, and speedily sent ouer into *Gallia*. For the *Æquinoctiall* drawing neere,

neere, *Ceſar* made haſte thither, doubting his crazed ſhippes would not be well able to brooke the ſeas in winter. Whereuppon, taking aduantage of the next faire winde, hee embarqued his forces about midnight, and with the greateſt parte of his Fleete, arriued in the continent. The *Roman Senate* (vpon relation of theſe his ſeruices) decreed a ſupplication for him, for the ſpace of twentie daies.

In the ſpring of the yeare following, *Ceſar* hauing pacified ſome tumultes in *Gallia*, proſecuted the enterpriſe of *Britannie*, and to that end he had prepared a Fleet of new ſhippes, well appointed, and commodiouſly built for landing his forces (the want whereof hee had found before, to his great loſſe) and a ſufficient army conſiſting of fiue *Legions*, and a proportionall number of horſe, which he embarqued at *Portus Iccius* about the Sunne-ſetting, hauing a faire ſoutherne winde to ſette them forward; which failing them about midnight, the tide diuerted their courſe, ſo as in the morning hee diſcouered the Iland on his left hand, and then folowing the turning of the tide, he commanded his ſouldiers to vſe their oares, that they might reach that part of the Ile, where they had found beſt landing the ſummer before; wherin they tooke ſuch paines, as their ſhippes of burden kept way with their long boates and lighter veſſels. About noone they landed on the ſhore, where there appeared no man to make reſiſtance: the cauſe whereof was (as *Ceſar* afterwardes learned by ſuch priſoners, as he tooke) for that the *Britans* hauing aſſembled themſelues together in armes at the Sea ſide, were ſo terrified with the ſight of the ſhippes (which of all ſortes were eſteemed aboue eight hundred ſaile) that they left the ſhore, and ran to hide themſelues in the vpland country. *Ceſar* (vpon intelligence by Fugitiues, where the *Britiſh* forces lay) leauing at the Sea ſide, ten *Coborts* & three hundred horſe to gard the ſhippes then lying at an-

chor,(whereof *Quintus Atrius* had the charge) marched forward, with the reſt of his army in the night, about xii. miles into the land, where he eſpied a multitude of *Britans* flocked together neere a riuer, hauing gotten the vpper ground,from whence they beganne to charge the *Romans* with their horſe and chariots; but being repulſed by *Caeſars* horſemen, they fled, and hidde themſelues in the woods, in a place, which being notably ſtrengthned both by Nature, and Arte, they had vſed as a fortreſſe in their ciuill warres among themſelues. For,by reaſon there were many great trees cut downe, and layd ouerthwart the paſſages round about, there could hardly any entraunce bee found into the wood; howbeit the *Britans* themſelues would oft times ſally forth vpon aduantage, and impeach the *Romans*, where they attempted to enter. Heerevpon *Caeſar* commaunded the ſouldiers of the *Seuenth Legion* to make a *Teſtudo*, and to raiſe a *Mount* againſt the place; by which meanes, after loſſe of men on both ſides, the *Romans*, in the end, got the Forte, and chaſed the *Britans* out of the wood; but *Caeſar* would not ſuffer his ſouldiers to purſue them farre, in regarde the place was vnknowne, and a great part of the day being then ſpent, he thought it fit to beſtow the reſt in fortifying his Campe. The next day in the morning, he ſent out horſemen and footemen three ſeuerall wayes to purſue them that fled; but, before they had gotten ſight of the *Britans*,certaine horſemen ſent from *Quintus Atrius* (who had charge of the ſhipping) brought newes, that a great tempeſt the night before had diſtreſſed his ſhippes, and beaten them vpon the ſhoare, their anchors and gables being not able to hold them, nor the Mariners to guide them, or to endure the force of the ſtorme. Wherevpon *Caeſar* cauſed the *Legions*, and horſemen to be ſent for backe againe, and marched with ſpeede towards the ſea ſide, where he found his nauy in ill plight; forty of his ſhippes being cleane caſt away, and the reſt

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with great difficulty ſeeming likely to be recouered. For effecting whereof hee tooke ſome Shipwrightes out of the *Legions*, and ſent for others out of the continent; writing to *Labienus* (who had the charge of certaine *Legions* there, and the guarde of *Portus Iccius*) that he ſhould prepare as many ſhippes as hee could, to be ſent ouer vnto him with expedition. And though it were a worke of great toyle, yet he thought it neceſſary to haue all the ſhippes haled a ſhoare, and to be brought into the campe, where his land forces lay, that one place might be a ſafegard to thē both. In the accompliſhment hereof he ſpent ten daies (the ſouldiers ſcarce intermitting their labour in the night time, till all was finiſhed.) And then hauing fortified his Campe, and left there the ſame forces (which were before appointed to keepe the harbor) he returned to the place, whence he diſlodged vpō *Atrius* his aduertiſemēt; where he found the number of the *Britans* much increaſed by confluence of people from ſundry partes within the Iland. The chiefe commandement and direction for the warre was by publike conſent of the States of the Ile aſſigned to *Caſſibilan*, the boundes of whoſe territory were diuided from the maritime citties, by the riuer *Thamiſis*, & were diſtant from the ſea about foure ſcore miles. There had bin of long time continuall warre betweene him, and ſome other Princes of the Countries neere adioyning: but nowe both partes (fearing to be ouer-runne by a forraine ennemy) neglected priuate reſpects, and ioyned their forces together, appointing him to be their leader, as a man of whoſe valour, and ſufficiencie in militare affaires they had good experience. The *Roman* army being come in view of their ennemies Campe, the *Britans* preſſed forward to beginne the fight with their horſemen and chariots, and *Caſar* ſent out his horſemen to encounter them, ſo as the battaile was maintained with great reſolution on both partes, and the euent thereof ſeemed doubtfull, till in the end, the *Britans* gaue ground,

ground, and fled through the woods to the hilles, many of them being slaine in the chase, and some of the *Romans* also, who aduenterously pursued them too farre. Not long after, while the *Romans* (suspecting no danger) were occupied in fortefying their Campe, the *Britans* sallied sodainly out of the woods, and made an assault vpon the warders, that kept station before the Campe; to whose ayde *Cæsar* sent out two *Cohorts* (the chiefe of two *Legions*) which making a Lane through the midst of the *British* forces, ioyned themselues with their distressed fellowes, and rescued them from the perill, though *Quintus Laberius Durus* a *Tribune* of the souldiers was slaine in that enterprise. But new *Cohorts* comming to supply the former, the *Britans* were repulsed, and sought to saue themselues by flight. By the maner of this battaile, (which was fought in view of the *Roman* Campe) the *Romans* perceiued the aduantage, which the *Britans* had of them, and how ill themselues were appointed for such a kind of fight, when by reason of the weight of their armour, they could neither pursue such as fled, nor durst leaue their Ensignes, nor were able (without great disaduantage) to encounter the *British* horsemen, which oft times gaue ground of purpose, & hauing withdrawne themselues by little and little from the *Legions*, would leape out of their chariots and fight on foote; the maner of their fighting with horses and chariots, being a like dangerous to those that retired, and those that pursued. Besides, they diuided their forces into companies (when they fought) and had seuerall stations, with great distances betweene them, one troope seconding an other, and the sound and fresh men yeelding supplies to the wounded and weary. The day following the *Britans* were descryed vpon the hills a fare off, scattered here and there in great numbers together, being not very forward to begin a new fight, till *Cæsar* hauing sent out three *Legions*, and all his horsemen vnder the conduct of *C. Trebonius* the Lieute-

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nant, to go a forraging, they flocked ſodainly together from all parts, and ſet vpon the forragers, not ſparing to aſſayle the Enſignes and *Legions* themſelues, who ſtrongly reſiſted them & made them turne their backs; whē the *Roman* horſemen alſo eagerly purſued thē, neuer giuing ouer the chaſe (as being eōfident in the ayde of the *Legions* that followed them) vntill they had driuen them headlong before them, killing all thoſe they ouertooke, and giuing the reſt no time, either to gather themſelues together, or to make a ſtand, or once to forſake their chariots. After this ouerthrow, many of the barbarous people (who had come frō diuerſe parts to ayde their countrymen) ſhrunke away; and *Cæſar* vnderſtanding, what courſe the reſt of the *Britans* meant to hold in proſecuting the warre, led his army to the bounds of *Caſſibelins* country vpon the riuer *Thamiſis*, which was paſſable on foot, in one place onely, and that with ſome difficulty. When he came thither, he perceiued that the *Britans* had great forces in readines on the further ſide of the riuer, the bankes whereof were fortified with ſharpe pointed ſtakes or piles, (about the bignes of a mās thigh, & bound about with lead,) pitched neere the ſhore, to empeach their paſſage; & ſome others of the ſame kind (the remnants wherof are to bé ſeene at this day) were plāted couertly vnder water in the maine riuer. Wherof *Cæſar* hauing intelligence (by ſome Fugitiues, and priſoners that he had taken) commanded the horſemen, firſt, to enter the riuer, and the *Legions* to follow, ſo as (the dangerous places being diſcouered) the *Romans* waded through (their heads only appearing aboue water) and charged the *Britans* with ſuch violence, as they forced them to forſake the ſhore, & betake themſelues to flight.

Caſſibelin ſeeing no likely-hood to maintaine the warre any longer by force, diſmiſſed the greater part of his power, and keeping with him about 4000. chariots onely, retired into the woods, and places of moſt ſafety, driuing

men, and cattell before him out of the fields, all that way, by which he knew the *Romans* ſhould paſſe with their army, whoſe horſemen (as they roued vp and downe to take booties) he ſurpriſed with his chariots, and diſtreſſed them in ſuch ſort, as they durſt not march forward, but keeping themſelues in their ſtrength, gaue ouer their former purpoſe, and from thenceforth ſought only to annoy the *Britans*, by ſpoiling and burning their houſes and townes.

In the meane time the *Trinobantes*, one of the chiefe States in thoſe parts ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, promiſing to ſubmit themſelues, and to be at his commaundement. There was alſo one *Mandubratius*, who had fled ouer to *Cæſar*, when he was in *Gallia*, and was now become a follower of his fortune, while preferring the ſatisfaction of his owne diſcontented humor, before the aduancement of the common cauſe, he ſerued as an inſtrument, to betray his Natiue country, abuſing the credite he had with his countrimen, by working their ſubmiſſion, to his owne diſhonor, and the aduantage of a forreine ennemy. His father *Imanentius*, (hauing bin ſometimes chiefe ruler of the Citty of the *Trinobantes*, and well eſteemed among them) was ſlaine by *Caſſibelin* the preſent gouernor, againſt whom the Cittizens deſired *Cæſar* to protect *Mandubratius*, & to commit vnto him the gouernement of their Citty, which *Cæſar* granted vpon deliuery of a certaine number of pledges, and a ſufficient proportion of vittaile for prouiſion of his army. Herevpon the *Ceni-magni*, *Segontiaci*, *Ancalites*, *Bibroci*, and *Caſſi*, petty States there about, ſent Ambaſſadors, and yeelded themſelues to *Cæſar*, who vnderſtood by them, that *Caſſibelin* his Towne (being wel ſtored with mē and cattell,) was not farre from thence. This Towne (as all others ſo called of the *Britans* in thoſe dayes) was onely a circuit of ground encloſed with woods, and mariſhes, or elſe intrenched with a rampire of earth about it. *Cæſar*, cōming with his *Legion* to this place, (which he found very ſtrong,

ſtrong, as being fortified, both naturally, and alſo by the induſtry of man) begun to aſſaile it on both ſides. The *Britans* hauing expected a while, the euent of the enterpriſe, and perceiuing themſelues vnable to withſtand the aſſault, iſſued out at a back way, where many of them being ſlaine, and ſome taken (as they fled,) the towne it ſelfe, and all the prouiſions within it, were left as a ſpoyle to the *Romans*.

While theſe things were in doing among the *Trinobantes*, *Caſſibelin* diſpatched meſſengers into the country of *Cantium*, that lies vpon the ſea. The inhabitants of thoſe parts were thē more ciuil & better furniſhed to make warre then any other of the Ile. The country at that time was gouerned by foure Kings, (as *Ceſar* himſelfe calleth them) either for that they had amōg thē a kind of abſolute gouernment in ſeuerall, or elſe, for that being the Regiſter of his own acts, he ſuppoſed it would be more for his glory to be reputed a conquerer of Kings. Their names were *Cingetorix*, *Caruilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, whom *Caſſibelin* then required to raiſe all the power they could make, & on the ſodaine, to aſſayle the *Romans* forces, that guarded their ſhippes at the ſea ſide. This was attempted accordingly, but with ill ſucceſſe, for that the *Romans* hauing timely aduertiſement of their purpoſe, preuented the execution thereof, by ſetting vpon them as they drew neere the *Roman* army; and ſo, after a great ſlaughter made of the *Britans* (*Cingetorix* a noble captaine and one of their Princes being taken priſoner) the *Romans* returned in ſafety to their Campe.

Caſſibelin, hearing of the vnhappy iſſue of this enterpriſe, after ſo many loſſes ſuſtained on his parte, (his country being waſted with warre, and himſelfe in a maner forſaken by the reuolt of the cities round about (which moſt of all diſcouraged him) ſent Ambaſſadors to *Ceſar* by *Comius* of *Arras*, offering to ſubmit himſelfe vpon reaſonable cōditiōs. *Ceſar* determining to winter in *Gallia* (the ſtate of

his affaires there requiring it) and the ſummer being almoſt ſpent, commaunded, that he ſhould deliuer certaine pledges for aſſurance of his obedience, and that he ſhould offer no wrong, nor giue cauſe of offence to *Mandubratius*, or the *Trinobantes*, whom he had taken into ſpeciall protection. And then hauing impoſed a Tribute, to be paied yearely by the *Britans*, to the people of *Rome*, he marched towards the ſea ſide, where he imbarqued his forces, and arriued with them ſafely in the continent. Thus *Cæſar* hauing rather ſhewed ſome part of *Britannie* to the *Romans*, then made a conqueſt of the whole: ſuppoſed hee had done ſufficiently for his owne glory, in vndertaking a matter ſo rare and difficult in thoſe times. At his comming to *Rome* he preſented there certaine captiues, (which he had taken in the *Britiſh* warres) whoſe ſtrangeneſſe of ſhape and behauiour filled the peoples eyes, both with wonder, and delight. He offered alſo in the Temple of *Venus genitrix* a ſurcote embrodered with *Britiſh* pearle, as a *Trophy*, and ſpoyle of the *Ocean*, leauing to poſterity a perpetuall remembrance of his enterpriſe in this Iland, to the honour, both of his owne name, and of the *Roman* nation.

After the death of *Iulius Cæſar*, (by reaſon of the ciuill warres among the *Romans*) the Ile of *Britanie* was, for a time neglected, and *Auguſtus Cæſar* being ſetled in the Empire (which was then growne to ſuch greatnes, as it ſeemed euen cumbred therewith) accounted it good pollicy to containe the ſame within his knowne bounds. Beſides, the attempt was like to proue dangerous, and a matter of very great expence, to ſend an army ſo far off, to make war with a barbarous nation for deſire of glory onely (no ſpeciall cauſe beſides mouing thereto.) Howbeit (as ſome writers reporte) about twenty yeeres after *Iulius Cæſar* his firſt entrãce, *Auguſtus* intended a voiage hither, in perſon, alledging for pretence of the warre, the wrong offred to the *Roman* ſtate by ſuch Princes of the Ile, as had for certiane

taine yeeres with-held the Tribute, which *Cæſar* his predeceſſor had impoſed. Vpon intelligence wherof, the *Britans* ſent ouer Ambaſſadors, who meeting the Emperor in *Gallia Celtica* declared their ſubmiſſion and deſired pardō; And the better to win fauor, they had carried ouer certain gifts of good valew, to be preſented as offrings in the *Roman Capitol*, (hauing already learned the art to flatter for aduantage, and to appeaſe Princes by rewards.) Herevpon a conditionall peace was granted them, and the Emperour hauing pacified ſome troubles in *Gallia*, returned to *Rome*. Then began the Ilanders to pay tribute, and cuſtome for all kind of wares which they exchanged with the *Gauls*, as namely Iuory boxes, Iron chaines, and other trinkets of amber, and glaſſe, which were tranſported to and fro both out of *Gallia* and *Britannie*.

The yeere following, the *Britans* hauing failed in performance of conditions, he prepared for another expedition; but being ſet forward on his voyage, the reuolt of the *Cantabrians*, and *Aſturians* ſtayed him from proceeding any further therin. After which time the *Britans* were left to themſelues, to enioy their liberty, and vſe their owne lawes without impeachment by forreine inuaders. for that the *Romans* hauing found the ſweetnes of peace, after long ciuill warres, ſought rather to keep in obedience ſuch Prouinces, as had bin before time brought vnder ſubiection, then by attempting new conqueſts, to hazard the loſſe of that they had already gotten.

In thoſe dayes the Country of the *Trinobantes* in *Britannie* was gouerned by *Cuno-belin*, who kept his reſidence at *Camalodunum*. He began firſt to reclaime the *Britans* from their rude behauiour, and to make his eſtate more reſpected, he afterwards cauſed his owne image to be ſtamped on his Coine after the maner of the *Romans* (a cuſtome neuer vſed among the *Britans* before his daies, and but thē newly receiued by the *Romans* themſelues; for before that

time the *Britans* vſed rings of Iron and litle plates of braſſe of a certaine weight inſteed of Coine. During the time of his gouernment, the diuine myſtery of human redemption was accompliſhed by the Birth of our Sauiour Chriſt, (*Auguſtus Cæſar* then poſſeſſing the *Roman* Empire, which hee afterwards left to *Tiberius* his adopted ſon, a wary and politicke Prince, who following the aduiſe and example of *Auguſtus* did neither attempt any thing in *Britannie*, nor maintaine any garriſon there.

But *Caius Caligula* his ſucceſſor, had a meaning to haue inuaded the Ile, had not his raſh entrance into the action, and his ill ſucceſſe in the *German* warre ouerthrown the interpriſe; by reaſon whereof he brought nothing to effect, but only made a ridiculous expedition, (anſwerable to the vanity of his humor) bringing an army into the hither parts of *Belgia*, and there hauing receiued into protection *Admimus* (whom *Cuno-belin* his Father had baniſhed) and certaine other *Britiſh* Fugitiues, that came with him) hee writ vaunting letters to the *Senate*, as though the whole Iland had yeelded it ſelf, hauing giuen ſpeciall charge to the meſſenger, that his letters ſhould be carried in a Chariot to the *Forum*, and not deliuered to the *Conſuls*, but in a full *Senate*, and in the Temple of *Mars*. Afterwards drawing his forces downe to the ſea coaſts of *Belgia* (whence with wonder he beheld the high cliffes of the Ile poſſeſſed with barbarous people) he placed his ſouldiers in battaile-array vpon the ſhore, and himſelfe entring into a long boat, was rowed a little way vpon the ſea. But not daring to aduenture further, he returned ſpeedily to land, and then commaunding a charge to be ſounded, as though hee would haue begun a fight, he appointed his ſouldiers to gather cockles, & muskles, in their helmets, terming them ſpoiles of the *Ocean*, & meet to be preſerued, as offrings due to the *Capitol*. For this exploite, he afterwards at his comming to *Rome* required a *Triumph*, and diuine honors to be aſſigned

ed him; but finding the Senators, for the moſt part, vnwilling to giue their aſſent, he burſt out into threats, & had ſlaine ſome of them in the place, if they had not ſpeedily auoyded his fury. After this, himſelfe in open aſſembly made a declaration of his iourney, and what aduentures he had paſſed in the conqueſt of the *Ocean* (as himſelfe vainely termed it) whereat the common people, either for feare, or flattery, gaue a generall applauſe; which he (taking it as a teſtimony of their deſire, to haue him placed among their gods) rewarded in this maner. He cauſed a great quantity of gold and ſiluer to be ſcattered on the ground, and certaine poyſoned caltrops of yron to be caſt among them, whereby many were killed, partly with thoſe enuenomed engines, and partly with the preſſe one of an other (each man being earneſt in gathering, and ſuppoſing an other mans gaine his owne loſſe.) So naturally was he inclined to all kindes of miſchiefe, as he ſpared not the liues euen of thoſe, whom he thought to deſerue beſt at his hands.

But *Claudius* the Emperor, with better aduiſe, and ſucceſſe, vndertooke the matter of *Britanie*; & firſt by perſwaſion of *Bericus* a *Britiſh* fugitiue, and others whom the *Romans* had receiued into their protection (a matter that much diſcontented the *Britans*, and ſtirred them vp to reuolt) he ſent *Aulus Plautius* a *Roman* Senator, a man well experienced in militare affaires, to take charge of the army then remaining in *Gallia*, & to tranſport it into the Iland, whereat the ſouldiers grudged, cõplaining that they ſhould now make warre out of the world, and by protracting time with vnneceſſary delayes, they diſcouered openly their vnwillingneſſe to enter into the action, till *Narciſſus* a fauorite of *Claudius*, being ſent to appeaſe them, went vp into *Plautius* his Tribunall ſeat, and there, in an oration, declared to the ſouldiers the cauſes of his comming, and exhorted them, not to ſhrinke for feare of vncertaine dangers: that the enterpriſe it ſelfe, the more perillous it ſeemed, the more

more honorable it would be to atchiue it: that themselues were the men whom the heauens had ordained to enlarge the bounds of the *Roman Empire*, and to make their owne names famous in the vtmost parts of the earth. But the souldiers at the first being moued with disdaine, cryed out in seditious maner (*Io. Saturnalia,*) as though they had bin then ready to solemnize a feast, at which the Custome was, that seruants should weare their Maisters apparrell, & represent their persons. Howbeit *Narcissus* giuing way to their fury for the present, did afterwards preuaile so farre with them, as partly for shame, and partly for hope of reward, they seemed content to follow *Plautius*, whithersoeuer he would conduct them. Then were the *Legionary* & *Auxiliary* souldiers diuided into three parts, so to bee embarqued, to the end, that if they should be empeached in one place, they might land in another. In crossing the sea, their shippes were shaken, & beaten backe with a contrary wind; albeit their courage fayled not, but rather increased, by reason of a fiery leame shooting from the *East* towardes the *West* (the selfesame way that they directed their course) which they interpreted as a token of good successe. And thereupon hoysing saile, they set forward againe, and with some difficulty (through the contrariety of wind and tide,) arriued in the Iland without any resistance, by reason that the *Britans* doubted not their comming; but then finding themselues surprised on the sodaine, they ran dispersedly to hide themselues in Woods and Marishes, holding it their best course, rather to prolong the warre, and weary their enemies by delaies, then to incounter them in the open field. But *Plautius* with much labor and hazard found out at length, their chiefe place of retreit, where he killed many of them, and tooke prisoner *Caratacus* their Captaine, one of the Sonnes of *Cuno-belin*, (not long before deceased.) For this exploit the *Roman Senate* did afterwards grant him a *Triumph*, which the Emperor *Claudius* honored with his

his owne perſon, accompanying him as he went vp into the *Capitol*.

The *Boduni* (then liuing vnder the gouernment of the *Cattieuchlani*) betook themſelues to the protection of *Plautius*, who leauing garriſons in thoſe parts, marched towards a riuer, ouer which the *Britans* ſuppoſed that the *Romans* could not paſſe without a bridge, and therefore imagined themſelues ſafe, hauing pitched their Campe on the other ſide of the water. But *Plautius* ſent ouer certaine *Germans* (who being accuſtomed to ſwim ouer riuers with ſwift currents euen in their armor) found an eaſie paſſage to the further bank, and there ſet vpon the *Britans*, wounding the horſes which drew their Chariots, and by that meanes ouerthrowing their riders, and diſordering their whole power. Then was *Flauius Veſpaſius* (who had the leading of the *Second Legion*) & *Sabinus* his brother, appointed to paſſe ouer, and to charge them on a ſuddaine as they were diſperſed. Some of the *Britans* being ſlaine, and ſome taken priſoners, the night made an ende of the skirmiſh. The next morning the reſt of the diſperſed rout ſhewed themſelues vpon the ſhore, and gaue occaſion of a new fight, which continued a long time, with equall aduantage, till *C. Sydius Geta* being in danger to haue bin taken, recouered himſelfe, and at the laſt enforced the *Britans* to retire; For which ſeruice he had afterwardes *Triumphal* honors aſsigned him, although he were no *Conſul*. In this conflict *Veſpaſian* (being beſet round about by the barbarous people) was in great danger, either to haue bin ſlaine, or taken, if he had not bin timely reſcued by *Titus* his ſon, who then excerciſed the office of a *Tribune* of the ſouldiers, and began in his tender yeares to giue ſome proofe of his valor. After this battaile, the *Britans* withdrew themſelues to the mouth of the riuer *Thamiſis*, neere the place, where it falles into the ſea, and being skilfull in the ſhallows and firme grounds, paſſed ouer in ſafety, when as the

Romans that pursued them, (not knowing the dangerous places) were oft times in great hazard. Some of the *Germãs* that were most forward to aduenture (by reason of their skill in swimming) assoone as they had got to the further shore, were compassed about and killed by the barbarous people, and the rest of the *Roman* army that followed was much distressed in the passage, and sharply assailed at their cõming on land; where began a bloody fight, in the which *Togodumnus* a *British* Prince, one of *Cunobelins* sonnes was slaine; whose death did nothing abate the courage of the *Britans*, but rather enflamed them with desire of reuenge: for the effecting wherof, they gathered together new Forces, from diuerse parts of the Ile. *Plautius*, fearing the greatnes of their power, and being straitned in a place of disaduantage, and danger, proceeded no farther at that time, but, fortifying only such townes as hee had alreadie taken, aduertised *Claudius* of the doubtfull state of his affaires.

In the meane time, *Vespasian* was imployed in other places of the Ile, where Fortune seemed to lay the foundation of that greatnes, vnto which he afterwardes attained; For in a short space, he fought thirty times with the *Britans*, ouercomming two warlike Nations, and taming the fierce *Belgæ*, whose ancestors, comming hither at the first out of *Gallia Belgica*, either to take booties, or to make war, gaue the name of their owne Country to such places as they had subdued: (a custome commonly vsed among the *Gauls*, when they seated themselues in any partes of this Iland) With like fortunate successe *Vespasian* proceeded in attempting, and conquering the Ile *Vectis*, that lieth on the south side of *Britannie*, when *Claudius* the Emperor being now furnished of all things necessary for the *British* expedition set forward with a mighty army, consisting of horsemen, footmen, and Elephants. He marched first to *Ostia*: from thence to *Massilia*: the rest of the voyage he made by land

land to *Geſſoriacum* in *Gallia*, where he embarqued. His forces being ſafely tranſported into the Ile, were led towards the riuer *Thamiſis*, where *Plautius* & *Veſpaſian* with their power attended his comming, and ſo the two armies being ioyned together, croſſed the riuer againe. The *Britans* that were aſſembled to encounter them, began the fight, which was ſharpely maintained on both ſides, till in the end, a great number of the Ilanders being ſlaine, the reſt fled into the woods, through which the *Romans* purſued them, euen to the towne of *Camalodunum*, which had bin the Royall ſeat of *Cunobelin*, and was then one of the moſt defenſible places in the dominions of the *Trinobanes*. This towne they ſurpriſed, and afterwards fortified, planting therein a *Colonie* of old ſouldiers, to ſtrengthen thoſe parts, and to keepe the inhabitants there in obedience. Then were the *Britans* diſarmed, howbeit *Claudius* remitted the confiſcation of their goods; for which fauour the barbarous people erected a Temple, and an Altar vnto him, honoring him as a god. Now the States of the country round about, being ſo weakened by the loſſe of their neighbours, & their own ciuil diſſentiõs, as they were vnable to reſiſt the *Roman* power any longer, began to offer their ſubmiſſion, promiſing to obey, and liue peaceably vnder the *Roman* gouernment; and ſo, by little, and little, the hither part of the Ile was reduced into the forme of a Prouince. In honor of this victory, *Claudius* was diuerſe times ſaluted by the name of *Imperator*, contrary to the *Roman* cuſtome, which permitted it but once for an expedition. The Senate of *Rome* alſo, vpon aduertiſement of his ſucceſſe, decreed, that he ſhould be called *Britannicus*, and that his ſonne ſhould haue the ſame title, as a ſurname proper, and hereditary to the *Claudian* family. *Meſſalina* his wife had the firſt place in counſel aſſigned hir, (as *Liuia* the wife of *Auguſtus* ſomtimes had,) & was alſo licenſed to ride in a chariot. At his returne to *Rome* (which was

the ſixt moneth after his departure thence) hauing continued but ſixteene daies onely in the Ile) he entred the City in a *Triumph* (performed with more then vſual ceremonies of ſtate, whereat certaine Preſidents of Prouinces, and baniſhed men were permitted to be preſent. On the top of his pallace was placed a Crowne ſet with ſtems, and foreparts of ſhips, which the *Romans* called (*Corona nauali*) as a ſigne of the conqueſt of the *Ocean*. Diuerſe captaines, that had ſerued vnder him in *Britannie* were honored with *Triumphal ornaments*; Yeerly playes were appointed for him, and two Arches of *Triumph* adorned with *Trophies* were erected, the one at *Rome*, the other at *Geſſoriacum*, (where he embarqued for *Britannie*) to remaine to ſucceeding ages, as perpetuall records of his victory. So great a matter was it then accounted, and a worke of ſuch merit to haue ſubdued ſo ſmall a part of the Iland.

In theſe termes ſtood the ſtate of *Britannie*, when the proſecution of the warre was committed to *P. Oſtorius Scapula*, who at his landing found all in an vprore, the *Britans* (that were yet vnconquered,) raunging the Confederates Country, and vſing the greater violence, for that they ſuppoſed the new Captaine as vnacquainted with his army (the winter alſo being then begun) would not come forth to encounter them; but he knowing well, that in ſuch caſes, the firſt ſucceſſe breedeth, either feare, or confidence, drew together with ſpeed his readieſt *Cohorts*, and made towardes them, ſlaying ſuch as reſiſted, and purſuing the reſidue, (whom hee found ſtragled abroad) leſt they ſhould make head againe. And that a faithles and cloaked peace might not giue, either the Captaine, or ſouldier, any time of idle repoſe, he diſarmed all thoſe whom he ſuſpected, and hemmed them in with garriſons between *Antona* and *Sabrina*.

The firſt that began to ſtirre, were the *Icenians*, a ſtrong people, and vnſhaken with warres, as hauing of their owne

accord

accord in former times, ſought the *Romans* alliance and amity. The Countries alſo adioining neere vnto them, following their example, prepared themſelues to fight, chooſing a place, that was compaſſed about with a rude trench, which had a narrow entrance to empeach the comming in of horſemen. That fence the *Roman* Captaine, (although he wanted the ſtrength of the *Legions*) went about to force with the aide of the Confederates alone, and hauing placed his *Cohorts* in rankes, he ſet his Troopes of horſemen alſo in like readines: Then giuing the ſigne of battaile, hee aſſailed the Rampire, and brake it, diſordering the *Britans*, who being ſtricken with a kind of remorſe for their rebellious attempts, and ſeeing the paſſages ſtopped vp on all ſides, ſhewed very great courage and valour in defending themſelues (as it falleth out oft times, where extremity of danger it ſelfe takes away all feare of danger.) In this fight *M. Oſtorius* the Lieutenants ſonne was crowned with an oken garland, as an honourable reward for ſauing a *Roman* Cittizen.

Now by the ſlaughter of the *Icenians*, the reſidue of the *Britans* (who ſtood vpon doubtfull termes, as wauering betweene warre and peace) were well quieted, and *Oſtorius* led his army againſt the *Cangi*, whoſe country hee ſpoyled and waſted, while the inhabitants durſt not come into the field, but priuily ſurpriſed ſuch as they found ſtragling behinde the *Roman* army; which was now come neere the ſea coaſt, that lookes toward *Ireland*, when as certaine tumults ſtirred among the *Brigantes*, brought back the Generall, who thought it beſt (not to enter into any new action, before he had made all ſure in thoſe parts) howbeit, vpō his comming thither, ſome few of the *Brigantes* (that firſt began to take armes) being put to death, the reſidue were pardoned, and the country quieted. For the Generall wiſely conſidering, that in ſuch caſes lenity ſometimes preuaileth, where force and rigor cannot, did ſeeke to win fa-

uour of the *Britans* by curteous vſage of ſuch as either fled vnto him for protection, or elſe, by the fortune of warre, fell into his hands, ſometimes pardoning them, ſometimes rewarding them, and ſometimes vſing them in ſeruice againſt their owne nation, as he did *Cogidunus* a *Britiſh* Prince, vpon whom he had beſtowed certaine cities in free gift, according to an ancient cuſtome among the *Romans*, who vſed euen Kings themſelues for inſtruments of bondage. But the *Silures* could neither by cruelty, nor faire meanes be held in, ſo as the Generall ſaw there was no way to keepe them vnder, but with a garriſon of *Legionary* ſouldiers; and to that end the *Colonie* at *Camalodunum* (conſiſting of a ſtrong company of old ſouldiers) was brought into the ſubdued country, to defend it againſt ſuch as ſhould rebell, and to make the confederates more willing to liue in obedience.

Then the army marched againſt the *Silures*, who beſides their naturall boldnes, relied much vpon the ſtrength of *Caractacus* their leader, a man that had waded through many dangers, and had bin fortunate in many aduentures, hauing gotten thereby ſuch reputation, as he was preferred, before all the *Britiſh* captaines. But as in pollicie and knowledge of the country, he had an aduantage of the *Romans*: ſo perceiuing himſelfe to be vnequally matched in ſtrength, he remooued the warre to the *Ordonices*, who entring into the action with him, (as fearing alike the *Roman* power) reſolued ioyntly to hazard the chaunce of warre. And herev ponthey prepared for battell, hauing choſen a place very cõmodious for thẽſelues, & diſaduantageable for their enemies. Then they went to the top of an hill, & where they found any eaſie paſſage vp, they ſtopped the way with heapes of ſtones, in maner of a rampire. Not farre off, ran a riuer with an vncertaine foord, where, vpon the bancke, a company of the beſt ſouldiers were placed, for a defence in the fore warde. The leaders went about,

cx.

exhorting and encouraging the common ſouldiers, vſing ſuch perſwaſions as might beſt fit their humors, and the preſent occaſion; and *Caractacus* himſelfe, courſing vp and downe, proteſted, that that day, and that battell, ſhould « be either the beginning of recouery of liberty, or of per- « petuall ſeruitude. Then he called vpon the names of his « aunceſtors, that had chaſed *Cæſar* the *Dictator* out of the « Ile, and had deliuered them from hatchets, and Tributes, « & protected their wiues and children from ſhame & vi- « olence. While he vttered theſe, or the like ſpeeches, the « people round about him made a noyſe, and euery man ſware, according to the religion of his country, that neither their enemies weapons, nor their owne wounds ſhould make them to giue ouer. That cheerefull cry, terrified and aſtonied the *Roman* General, and the rather, when he conſidered, how he was couped in, hauing the riuer beneath him, the fort before him, the high hilles hanging ouer it, and all things on euery ſide threatning danger, and deſtruction to the aſſaylers. Howbeit his ſouldiers demaunded the battell, crying, that *There was nothing which valour could not ouercome.* The *Prefects* and *Tribunes*, vſing the like ſpeeches, added courage to the reſt. Then *Oſtorius* hauing viewed the places of difficult acceſſe, led his ſouldiers (being hot and eager of the fight) vnto the further ſide of the riuer, and from thence to the rampire, where, while they fought with their darts, they had the worſt, but hauing broken downe the rude compacted heape of ſtones with a *Teſtudo*, and both armies comming to handy ſtrokes vpon equall aduantage, the *Britans* turned their backs, and ran to the hill top, the *Romans* purſuing thē both with their light, & heauy armed ſouldiers, the one aſſayling with darts, & the other (as they marched thicke together,) breaking the rankes, and beating downe the barbarous people, who had neither headpeece, nor armour to defend themſelues, ſo that being hedged in betweene the *Legionary* ſouldiers,

and

and the *Auxiliaries*, the greatest part of them were slaine in the place.

At this assault *Caratacus* his wife, and daughter were taken prisoners, and his Brethren yeelded to the ennemies; but himselfe driuen to extremity, escaped by flight into the Country of the *Brigantes*, hoping to receiue some aid of *Cartismandua* the Queene there. But, as it falleth out commonly with men in aduersitie, to be forsaken & left succorles, so insteed of finding the reliefe which he expected, he fell into the danger, which he little doubted. For *Carti/mandua*, either fearing hir owne estate, or thinking to win fauor of the Conqueror (as Princes ofttimes make vse of one anothers misfortunes to serue their owne turnes) detayned him in prison a while, & afterwards deliuered him to *Ostorius*, who was exceeding glad that he had gotten him, and forthwith sent him to *Rome*, as a prize of great worth, and the happy fruites of nine yeares seruice in the warres. The report of him was spread throughout the Iles & Prouinces adioyning, and his name was renowned in most parts of *Italy*, each man desiring to see him, who had so long time withstood, and contemned that power, which held all the world in awe, and obedience. The Citty of *Rome* for many dayes together was filled only with talke of him, & expectation of his comming, and the Emperor himselfe as a Conqueror, by extolling his owne worthines, couertly added more glory to the conquered. The people assembled together, as it were, to see some notable and rare spectacle. The Emperors gard in armes were orderly placed in the field before the Campe. After this preparation made, the Prisoners, and *Trophies* were presented in this manner. First, the vassalls of *Caractacus* going formost, bowed their bodies to the people, as they passed, and seemed by their rufull countenances to discouer their feare. The caparisons, chaines, & other spoyles taken in the warre were carried after them. Then *Caractacus* his Brethren, his Wife,

and

and Daughters followed; and laſt of all came *Caratlacus* himſelfe. His body was naked, for the moſt part, and painted with the figures of diuerſe beaſtes. He ware a chaine of Iron about his necke, and another about his middle. The haire of his head hanging downe in long locks (curled by nature) couered his backe, and ſhoulders, and the haire of his vpper lip being parted on both ſides, lay vpon his breaſt. The reſt of his body was ſhauen all ouer. Neither was his behauior leſſe noted, then the ſtrangeneſſe of his habit: For he neither hung downe his head, nor craued mercy (as the reſt did) but went on boldy with a ſetled and ſterne countenance, till he came before the Emperors *Tribunall* ſeate, and there ſtanding ſtill a while, he after ſpake theſe, or the like words.

If either my vertues in proſperity, had beene anſwerable to the greatnes of my eſtate, or the ſucceſſe of my late attempts to the reſolution of my Minde, I might haue come to this Citty, to haue bin entertained rather as a Friend, then as a Captiue to be gazed vpon; For it ſhould haue bin no diſgrace for the *Romans*, to haue admitted into ſociety with them, a man royally diſcended, and a commaunder of many warlike Nations. But what cloud ſoeuer *Fortune* hath caſt ouer my eſtate, ſhe is not able to take from mee thoſe things, which the heauens and Nature haue giuen mee: (that is,) the dignitie of my Birth, and the Courage of my Minde, which neuer fayled mee. I know it is a Cuſtome among you, to make your *Triumphs*, the Spectacles of other Mens Miſeries, and in this my Calamitie, as in a Mirror, you do now behold your owne glory. Yet know, that I was ſometimes a Prince, furniſhed with ſtrength of men, and abiliments of warre; and what meruaile is it, that I haue now loſt them, ſince your owne experience hath taught you, that the euents of warres are variable, and vncertain? I thought that the deepe Waters, which like a Wall encloſe vs,

" (whom the heauens seeme to haue placed farre off, in ano-
" ther world by it selfe,) might haue bin a sufficient Defence
" for vs against forreine inuasion; But I see now, that your
" Desire of soueraignty admits no limitation, since neither the
" danger of an vnknowne sea, nor the Distance of place, can
" any longer warrant our safety and liberty. If you will needs
" commaund the whole world, then must all men become
" your vassalles, and liue vnder a forced obedience. For mine
" own part, as long as I was able, I made resistance, being vn-
" willing to submit my necke to a forreigne Yoke. The law
" of naturall reason alloweth euery man to defend himselfe,
" being assailed, and to withstand force, by force. Had I
" yeelded at the first, thy glory, and my misfhap had not bin
" so renowned, but both of them would soone haue bin for-
" gotten. *Fortune* hath done her worst, & we haue now no-
" thing left vs but our liues, which if thou spare (hauing
" power to spill) thou shalt do that, which best beseemeth a
" great Minde, and a noble Nature.

The Emperor hearing this speach, and wondring to see such boldnes and Constancie of Mind in a deiected estate, pardoned both him, and the rest of his Company, commaunding them to be vnbound, & so dismissed them. For many daies together, *Caractacus* his Fortune ministred matter of discourse to the Lordes of the Senate, who affirmed the spectacle of his Captiuity to be no lesse honorable, then that of *Syphax* the *Numidian* King, ouer whome *P. Scipio* triumphed, or that of *Perses*, whom *Paulus Æmilius* vanquished, or of any other Kings, that had in former times bin taken in warre, and shewed to the people. Then publicke honors of triumph were decreed for *Osterius*, whose fortunes being now at the highest, began afterwards to decline, by reason that either *Caractacus* (the obiect of his valor,) being remoued, he supposed he had made a full conquest, and therfore followed the seruice more carelesly: or else, for that the residue of the *Britans*, hauing

compassion

cõpaſſion of the misfortune of ſo mighty a Prince, & being eager of reuenge, renewed the warres; for they aſſayled the *Legionary Cohorts* which were left behind to build fortreſſes in the *Silures* Country, killed the Campe-Maiſter, and eight Centurions, beſides ſome of the forwardeſt ſouldiers, and they had put al the reſt to the ſword, if ſpeedy reſcue had not come from the Villages and Forts adioyning. Diuerſe other ſallies they made, as time and place gaue thē aduantage, prenailing ſometimes by ſtrength, ſomtimes by pollicy, and ſometimes by chaunce. The Principall Motiue, that induced the reſt to take armes, was the example of the *Silures*, who were moſt reſolutely bent, as being exaſperated, by reaſon of a ſpeech that the *Roman* Emperour had vſed, which was: That he would roote out the name of the *Silures*, as the *Sicambrians* had bin in former time. This made thē bold & deſperate to aduenture, as men knowing their deſtinie before hand. Many skirmiſhes they had, in ſurpriſing the ſcattered troopes of the *Roman* ſouldiers, and often times with good ſucceſſe, in taking rich booties, and priſoners, and diſtributing the ſpoyles among their neighbors, by which meanes they drew them alſo to reuolt.

In the meane time, *Oſtorius* wearied with care and trauaile, ended his life. Whereof *Claudius* the Emperor being aduertiſed, ſent *Aulus Didius* to take charge of the army in *Britannie*, where notwithſtanding all the haſte hee made, he found all out of frame: *Manlius Valens* with his *Legion* hauing encountred the *Britans* with ill ſucceſſe, which, by report of the Ilanders, was made greater thē indeed it was, to terrifie the new Gouernor, who alſo made vſe of the ſame pollicy to ſerue his owne turne; for by encreaſing the fame of that, which hee heard reported, hee ſuppoſed, either to win greater praiſe, if he preuailed, or to purchaſe a more fauourable cenſure of his actions, if hee miſcarried. The *Silures* had made many roades into the ſubdued Country, waſting, and ſpoyling round about,